THE Nation

AMERICA'S LEADING LIBERAL WEEKLY SINCE 1865

VOLUME 166 NEW YORK • SATURDAY • JANUARY 31, 1948 NUMBER 5

The Shape of Things

THE SHARP DISPUTE BETWEEN THE FRENCH and British governments over devaluation of the franc is an unhappy omen for the success of Bevin's proposals for closer cooperation with France. It illustrates very clearly how conflicts in regard to immediate problems can obscure the long-range interest of both countries in economic unity. In this particular instance, compromise is all the more difficult because both parties can put up a strong case for the positions they have taken. For France, a more realistic exchange value for its currency has become imperative. Since the franc was devalued last, two years ago, French prices have trebled. When translated into foreign currencies at the official exchange rate, they are prohibitive for overseas customers. French exports are rapidly declining as a result. To meet this situation, the French government has raised the exchange rate from 119 to the dollar to 214. Exporters to "hard-currency" countries will, however, be compelled to sell only half of their foreign-exchange proceeds to the government at the official rate, instead of all as hitherto. The other half they will be able to sell for whatever they can get in a reestablished free market. Up to now, the French seller of $1,000 worth of wine to the United States has received about 119,000 francs. In future, he will get 107,000 plus whatever $500 will fetch in the free market, which may be as much as 175,000 francs. Obviously, he will be in a much better position to quote attractive prices to his American customers and so to increase his sales.

✶

EVERYBODY AGREES THAT DEVALUATION OF the franc is absolutely essential. What bothers the British, and also the board of the International Monetary Fund, which has issued a strong protest, is the method adopted by the French government. Their fear is that it will start a new fashion in multiple currencies of the kind that caused so much international friction and trade dislocation before the war. René Mayer, French Finance Minister, asserts, however, that the new arrangement is designed to ascertain the real market value of the franc: once that is accomplished, a single rate will again be fixed. The British authorities also believe that a free currency market in France may undermine sterling. American tourists, for instance, may now find that they can buy pounds freely in France for the equivalent of about $3 as against the pegged sterling exchange rate of $4.02, and will be sorely tempted to smuggle pound notes into England. The French have sought to meet this objection by confining the free market for the present to dollars and Portuguese escudos. In any case, they think London's fears are exaggerated. Moreover, they argue, if sterling is so sensitive that it can be undermined in this manner, then it is overpriced and its devaluation would be a useful step toward returning European currencies to convertibility and abolishing exchange controls. However, devaluation is an exceedingly difficult step for Britain to take. It would force a sharp rise in the prices of imports and hence in the cost of living without doing much to stimulate exports, which are held back by the nation's sheer inability to produce more rather than by the fact that British goods are priced too high for foreign markets. It would also mean, in effect, partial repudiation of the immense sterling debts which Britain owes to many nations and so would strike a damaging blow at British credit. Consequently, while exhaustion of its reserves may eventually force the British government to devalue sterling, it will postpone action as long as possible and resist any move by other countries which threatens to force its hand.

✶

WE WISH TO CALL TO THE PARTICULAR attention of our readers the article by Lillie Shultz on page 119. Her account of happenings in Palestine since partition was voted is shocking enough in itself and in its obvious implications; far more serious are the conclusions Miss Shultz has drawn. *The Nation* has several times pointed out Britain's inescapable responsibility for the Arab-fomented terror in Palestine. But the charge that the British are embarked on a deliberate policy of wrecking partition, in order to consolidate the Anglo-American strategic position in the Middle East through a series of deals with the Arab states, goes beyond anything previously published here or elsewhere. It implicates our own government and our entire foreign policy, and demands an immediate inquiry by President Truman, whose support of partition was one of the major factors in bringing about its adoption by the United Nations General Assembly.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

• IN THIS ISSUE •

EDITORIALS

The Shape of Things 113
Baruch vs. Inflation 115
Cartoon: "My Marshall Plan" *by Ezekiel Schloss* 116
Socialist Union or Holy Alliance? *by Freda Kirchwey* 117

ARTICLES

Politics and People: Notes on a Busy Week *by Robert Bendiner* 118
Conspiracy Against Partition *by Lillie Shultz* 119
What Do We Want in Italy? *by Donald Downes* 123
A New Dred Scott Case *by Sara Lamport* 124
New Year's Eve in Zagorsk *by Alexander Werth* 126
Douglas of Illinois *by Julian J. Steen* 127
In the Wind 128
Report on Germany *by Del Vayo* 129
Everybody's Business: The Oil Shortage *by Keith Hutchison* 130

BOOKS AND THE ARTS

Notes by the Way *by Margaret Marshall* 131
Pontiac's War *by Keith Hutchison* 132
Rolland and "Jean-Christophe" *by Albert Guerard, Sr.* 132
Fiction in Review *by Diana Trilling* 133
Drama *by Joseph Wood Krutch* 135
Films *by James Agee* 136
Records *by B. H. Haggin* 138

LETTERS TO THE EDITORS 139

CROSSWORD PUZZLE No. 248 *by Frank W. Lewis* 140

Editor: Freda Kirchwey

European Editor J. Alvarez del Vayo
Literary Editor Margaret Marshall
Associate Editor: Robert Bendiner
Financial Editor: Keith Hutchison
Drama: Joseph Wood Krutch *Music:* B. H. Haggin
Staff Contributors
J. King Gordon, Reinhold Niebuhr, Carey McWilliams
Aylmer Vallance, Maxwell S. Stewart, Ralph Bates
Assistant Editor Jerry Tallmer
Copy Editor Gladys Whiteside
Assistant Literary Editor: Caroline Whiting

Publisher: Freda Kirchwey
Business Manager: Hugo Van Arx
Advertising Manager: Shirley May Segan
Director of Nation Associates: Lillie Shultz

The Nation, published weekly and copyrighted, 1948, in the U. S. A. by The Nation Associates, Inc., 20 Vesey St., New York 7, N. Y. Entered as second-class matter, December 13, 1879, at the Post Office of New York, N. Y., under the act of March 3, 1879. Advertising and Circulation Representative for Continental Europe: Publicitas, Lausanne, Switzerland.

Subscription Prices: Domestic—One year $6; Two years $10; Three years $14. Additional postage per year: Foreign and Canadian $1

Change of Address: Three weeks' notice is required for change of address, which cannot be made without the old address as well as the new.

Information to Libraries: The Nation is indexed in Readers' Guide to Periodical Literature, Book Review Digest, Index to Labor Articles, Public Affairs Information Service, Dramatic Index.

THE LONG-EXPECTED EXPLOSION IN THE C. I. O. went off according to schedule. Nobody familiar with what is euphemistically known as the "left wing" of the organization will be surprised that its adherents rejected a majority verdict in favor of pursuing their own purposes—in this case the promotion of Henry Wallace's Presidential campaign. Nor can their right to follow this course be denied. Philip Murray freely conceded that the executive board's three-to-one condemnation of the third party was not binding on the constituent unions, and we should not care to see any labor hierarchy attempting to lay down a political line for trade-union members. In spite of the bitter cleavage with respect to the campaign, there is apparently no thought on either side of destroying the solidarity of the C. I. O. as such. Nevertheless, the unity which Mr. Murray worked so hard and so patiently to preserve—sometimes at the sacrifice of his own beliefs—is no longer even a fiction. Political policy is bound to spill over into trade-union action, as we noted in the behavior of the "left wingers" during the war—now mild, now militant, depending solely on the changing position of the Soviet Union in the conflict. The Political Action Committee, too, must be regarded as a casualty of the Wallace movement. The left-wing unions will retain their affiliation, but with rival groups pulling in opposite directions over the Marshall Plan as well as the Presidency, its importance in the campaign will be sadly reduced.

*

REPORTS FROM HERE AND THERE INDICATE that no irreparable split is likely to develop between the Wallace forces and other liberal elements in the Democratic Party in the Western states. In Los Angeles, the County Central Committee, at a recent characteristically turbulent session, refused to adopt a resolution calling for a pre-primary pledge of loyalty to President Truman, although prior to the meeting the executive board had approved the resolution by a vote of twenty-seven to seven. An amended motion, which merely stated that all members of the committee who found it impossible to support the party's candidates should resign after the primary, was then adopted by a vote of seventy-eight to forty-six. In Portland, Oregon, the Wallace forces lost a test vote in the Multnomah County Young Democratic Club. Here the test came on a resolution urging Wallace to retain "the fighting liberalism of Franklin D. Roosevelt" but to disavow Communist support and to stay within the Democratic Party. Opposed by the Wallace forces, the resolution was adopted, thirty-one to twenty-four. In Denver, the Rocky Mountain Social Action Council, which was largely responsible for the election of Democratic Congressman John Carroll in 1946, has indorsed the Wallace candidacy, but no test of strength has yet arisen within the Democratic Party.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

If Western liberals are to recapture Congressional seats lost in 1946 and reelect liberal Representatives, it is important that no ill-considered "purges" be attempted within the Democratic Party. Liberals who disavow Wallace's candidacy should take the lead in opposing a tactic which could only have the effect of driving many progressive Democrats, still undecided whether they will vote for him or not, into the third-party camp.

✶

WE CANNOT AGREE WITH THE PRESIDENT that Congress ought to stretch a point and allow generals to hold down civilian jobs while drawing army pay and enjoying army perquisites. As Senator Gurney said, speaking for the Senate Armed Services Committee, this would amount to "using special legislation as a means of avoiding statutory wage limitations." It is too bad, however, that Congress doesn't look deeper and consider the reasons that prompted the President to make this request in the case of General Laurence S. Kuter, whom he wanted to make chairman of the Civil Aeronautics Board. Mr. Truman has been widely criticized both for the mediocrity of his appointments and his tendency to dip into the uniformed ranks to fill high posts in the government. We have been among the critics, and we believe that the ungratefully abrupt dismissal of James M. Landis from this same post was one of the surest ways to dissuade capable men from going into government service. But in great part, the difficulty Mr. Truman has in bringing talent to Washington is that the statutory wage limitations to which the Senator referred date back to another era. President Roosevelt was able to recruit some of the best brains in the country for little money on the basis, first, of a crusade, and, later, a war. But what men are willing to do in times of high crisis they are reasonably unwilling to do in more normal times. The measure of the President's problem may be gauged from the fact that a Cabinet under secretary is paid less than a New York City magistrate, and Secretary of State Marshall himself no more than the Borough President of Staten Island.

✶

IT'S A LONG ISLAND THAT HAS NO TURNING. And the storm of complaints with which patrons of the line that "runs" to Montauk Point turned on the Long Island Railroad ranks with the Blizzard of '88. We hope they feel better for having expressed themselves, and expressed themselves so well—because the more we consider the Public Service Commission the more convinced we are that the hearings will turn out to be the only constructive results of the encounter on December 26 between an irresistible force, the Big Snow, and a barely movable object, the L. I. R. R. That being so, we sympathize deeply with a commuter we know who set out several mornings after the storm to have his say at the hearings and didn't make it because his train was two and a half hours late.

✶

OKLAHOMA HAS MADE AN UNAPPETIZING spectacle of itself in trying to comply with the letter but not the spirit of a decision handed down by the United States Supreme Court. Last week, when the court told the state it must provide a law-school education for Ada Lois Sipuel, we noted that the judges had, regrettably, failed to rule on the pernicious "equal but separate" doctrine. Oklahoma promptly took advantage of this loophole and broke all course records in establishing a spanking new law school for the convenience of the Negro girl and its own segregation laws. A curriculum, a classroom in the state capitol, and a faculty of three white professors—two of them Harvard men—were unearthed and thrown together before you could say Jim Crow. Oddly enough, Miss Sipuel isn't satisfied. She will not attend the new "school" but will carry her fight back to the Supreme Court. If its members have a decent regard for human dignity, they will hear her plea, order Oklahoma to admit her to its university, and dispel, once and for all, the myth of "equal but separate."

Baruch vs. Inflation

BERNARD BARUCH'S statement to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee last week set off a slump on the Stock Exchange and shocked many of the conservative politicians and business men who normally sing his praises. Ignoring his insistence that taxation ought not to be reduced for two years, the Republicans immediately turned to pushing through the Knutson bill—the highly inflationary measure that is nearest and dearest to many of their hearts. More surprisingly, neither the President nor any other leading member of the Administration voiced support for Mr. Baruch's proposals, which are in line with Mr. Truman's own program though much stronger. As usual, the inclination to play safe in an election year infects and paralyzes both parties.

Mr. Baruch's major point was very simple. An effective European Recovery Plan and an effective anti-inflation program are, he holds, inseparable. If we are to win the peace, we must help Europe get on its feet and must do the job wholeheartedly. But to accomplish that end without wrecking our own economy, we must stop inflation now before the spiral is given another violent twist by a new round of wage increases. That too can

Coming Next Week

The documents released by the State Department on Nazi-Soviet relations between 1939 and 1941 will be analyzed by I. F. Stone.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

be done, but only if all groups subordinate some of their sectional interests to the national interest.

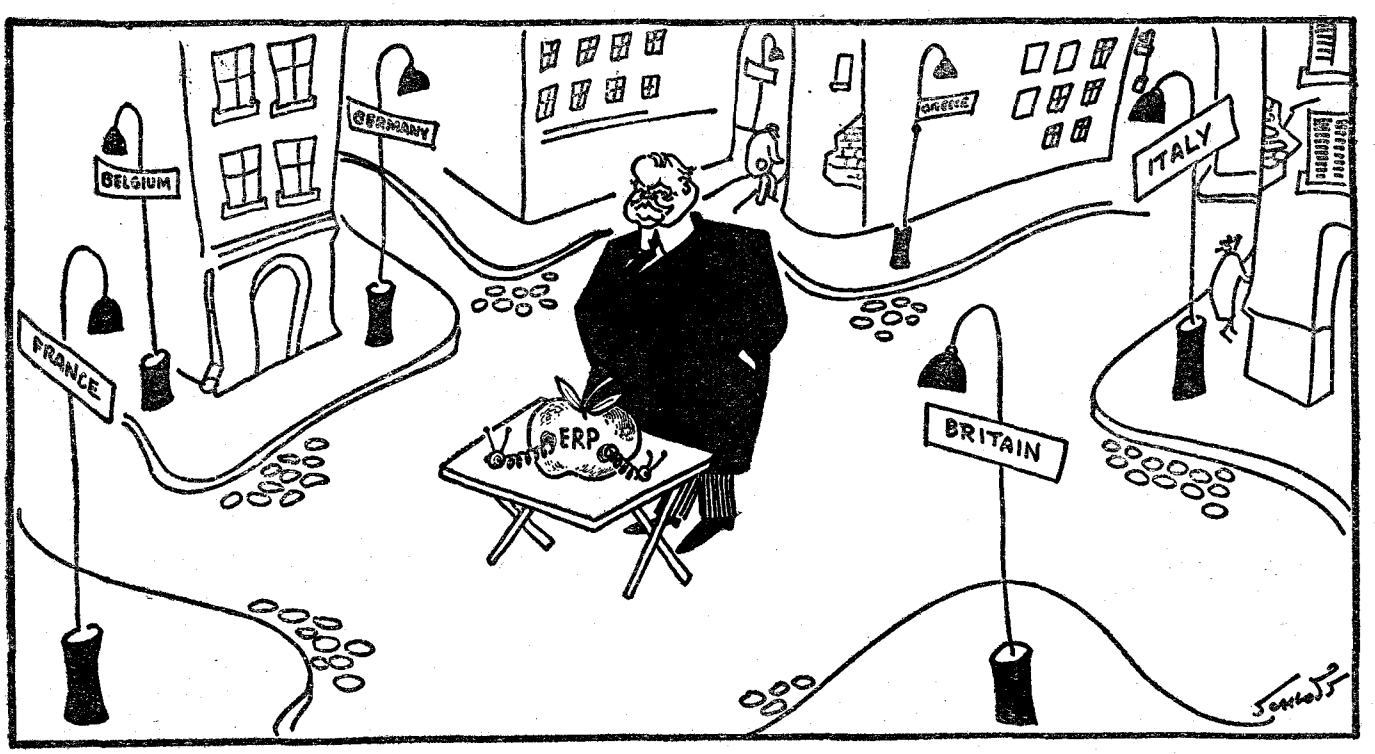
There are, says Mr. Baruch, three essentials in an anti-inflation program: (1) more production; (2) conservation and direction of resources by giving priority to the most urgent uses; (3) organization of self-restraint. To secure more production, Mr. Baruch wants a peace drive akin to the war drive, with longer working hours and a concentrated effort to smash bottlenecks. To conserve resources, he suggests postponement of less essential public works, with priorities for schools, hospitals, housing, and projects directly increasing production. He also proposes a Capital Issues Committee to review all investment plans, public and private, with a view to deferring those of less immediate importance.

Such measures, however, will not prove very effective unless accompanied by sacrifices from major national groups. Mr. Baruch believes that farmers should be asked to agree to a rollback in agricultural prices in return for a three-year guaranty of a definite price for their crops. He also asks for continuance of rent controls. With these, and the cost of food lowered, he thinks labor should agree to a wage freeze. This would not necessarily prevent some increase in take-home pay, since Mr. Baruch's proposals for a longer working week do not rule out overtime rates. The sacrifice asked of business is a return to the excess-profits tax at half the war-time rate—a blow softened by a suggestion for five-year amortization of new plants. Tax cuts, Mr. Baruch says, should be postponed for two years. This would permit the accumulation of a substantial surplus for reduction of the national debt, which he sees as a danger to national security, "an invitation to regimentation, printing money, and repudiation."

It will be seen that while this plan asks farmers, workers, and business to forgo the dubious advantages of increased prices, wages, and profits, it also offers some compensation to each group. But the greatest benefit it promises is a common one—a share in a stable prosperity instead of a gambler's chance of winning a prize in the boom-bust lottery. To our way of thinking, this makes sense, and we regret that it seems to be receiving little support. Farmers like price floors but not ceilings; labor wants lower prices but no check on wage increases; business wants wage freezes but no reduction of profits.

In a sneering editorial on Mr. Baruch's statement, the *Wall Street Journal* says: "To save Europe from totalitarianism and regimentation we are asked to out-regiment her here at home." Mr. Baruch obviously expected attacks of this nature and anticipated them. If we fail now, he argues, to agree on moderate controls, we are likely to be forced to adopt far more drastic measures later. To those who cry, "What about free enterprise?" he replies, "You cannot save free enterprise if you let the system which protects it go to ruin. What makes the police state? What makes totalitarianism? . . . Not the police but the absence of law behind the police. . . . I have no fears of the restraints we adopt as free men to save our freedom as long as we uphold our laws. . . ."

This is the spirit in which to face the grave dangers which confront us. We have not always seen eye to eye with Mr. Baruch, but his contribution to the debate on inflation shows a breadth and clarity of vision sadly lacking in other elder, and younger, statesmen.



"My Marshall Plan"

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Socialist Union or Holy Alliance?

BY FREDA KIRCHWEY

MR. BEVIN'S speech last week was clear enough on some points: in its criticism of Russian expansion and political pressure, in its acceptance of two blocs as a basis for the organization of Europe. It was much less clear about how the Western bloc was to be put together or to function. As a consequence, the speech has had a most mixed reception—hostile on the part of those who dread above everything the crystallizing of West against East, enthusiastic on the part of those who welcome any move toward union against Russia; while those who accept the necessity of closer cooperation among the Western states but want to see some specification of aims and methods have been skeptical at best. Among the last are most Frenchmen, of all parties.

Reduced to its simplest terms, what Mr. Bevin proposed was a rather loose political alignment of Western democratic states to serve as counterpoise to the integration of Eastern Europe under Soviet influence. How far it might go in economic unification he did not even suggest, and indeed this would have been a ticklish issue to bring up at the very moment when Cripps and Mayer were demonstrating total inability to agree on the single question of currency devaluation. But the issue can hardly be dodged, since it forms the very meat of the problem Bevin was discussing. For unity implies a revolutionary change in Europe's economic structure, or it means nothing. The Western nations may conclude alliances and concert their over-all foreign policies, as the Eastern nations have done—and this, I believe, is now inevitable. But unless they also concert their economic policies, jointly organize major areas of production and distribution and the buying of food and industrial raw materials—which implies agreement on tariffs and currencies as well—their political alignment will make little sense, even as a warning to the Soviet Union.

Nor is economic coordination necessary only in Western Europe; it is necessary too in the relations between East and West. Already, bilateral pacts are slicing through the economic curtain, making way for an increased exchange of goods. But this exchange, now subject to numerous hampering restrictions imposed by Russian and American policy, will have to be geared somehow to the needs of the whole areas concerned rather than to the bargaining power of individual states. The E. R. P. countries will succeed in restoring their own regional economy only if they are able to plan beyond its borders, in defiance of blocs.

None of this seems to come within the scope of Mr. Bevin's rather nebulous proposal to "organize the kindred souls of the West, just as they [the Russians] have organized the kindred souls of the East." Indeed, his hasty explanation that he had in mind "more of a brotherhood and less of a rigid system" than exists in the Soviet sphere appears to rule out the only sort of union that could possibly provide an economic offset to the planned economy developing in Eastern Europe.

Obviously, the job would be harder in Western Europe. American pressure will operate against it, just as Soviet pressure has worked for it in the East. The State Department has welcomed the Bevin proposal, and from the start has urged the breaking down of customs barriers and other artificial impediments to trade. But the idea of reorganizing the economies of the cooperating states on a planned and largely Socialist basis would surely meet stiff objections in and out of the Administration, even if it were not openly prohibited in the program itself. Perhaps it was this manifest obstacle that was in Mr. Attlee's mind when, after reciting his faith in democratic socialism, he rejected the notion of "uniformity" as a condition of unity and declared that "it is no part of Socialist policy to force socialism on other nations."

JUST the same, some degree of Socialist uniformity is essential to any plan, except a purely political-strategic one, of union among the Western states. As Fritz Sternberg and Richard Crossman have argued in recent issues of *The Nation*, a self-supporting capitalism could not be restored in Europe, even by a succession of E. R. P's. Either the Continent and Britain will develop a planned society on Socialist lines or the standard of living will be driven down to the point where European workers will welcome planning on Communist lines—or fall victim to some new form of fascism. The only alternative—indefinite dependence on American doles—is unthinkable.

Mr. Churchill, who with some justification greeted the Foreign Minister's speech as a belated indorsement of his famous pronunciamiento at Fulton, Missouri, firmly outlawed all talk of a European association of Socialists or Socialist parties. "Nothing," he said, "could be more unwise or more reactionary than that." And he urged that the idea of a United Europe be kept "above party divisions." This phrase sums up many of the hazards that lie between the perilous present and a workable program of recovery in Europe. To "unite" the West against Russia as Mr. Churchill and, apparently, Mr. Bevin would do it, may be comparatively easy, although it will create anxiety and doubt among those who look beyond the old balance-of-power concept. But until the idea of unity embraces the purposes of Socialist planning, and so exposes itself to the test of "party divisions," it will remain empty of meaning. The only way to head off revolution by force throughout Europe is to organize revolution by consent. Although Mr. Churchill obviously does not know it, the day of the Holy Alliance is gone for good.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

POLITICS and PEOPLE

BY ROBERT BENDINER

NO ONE will be surprised that the meeting of the Republican National Committee was an occasion for a certain amount of back-slapping and self-congratulation over the windfall presented to the party by Henry Wallace. There would have been even more jubilation perhaps if it had not been checked by a note of wariness that has been creeping into the attitude of Republican leaders. There are two apparent reasons for the new caution: first a cleavage in Republican ranks, and second a suspicion that Wallace's third party just might do a fade-out after the Democratic convention, leaving the Grand Old Party in the lurch.

The division among the Republicans is partly a split over Marshall Plan legislation, but in greater part it is a break between those who still think the 1946 election was a mandate to obliterate the New Deal and those who now realize it was largely a gripe over rising prices. With Senator Vandenberg quietly threatening to take the foreign-policy issue to the floor of the convention—a move that would kill Taft's chances and seriously weaken the party in the campaign—the chances are good that the resurgent isolationists will be impelled to compromise. But on the question of a domestic economic program a Kilkenny brawl looms which will make life trying for the Republican Presidential nominee, whoever he is.

THE fun has already started in New Jersey, where we have the spectacle of a state's senior Senator publicly clamoring for his own renomination and being coldly turned down by the state Republican machine on the ground that his reactionary record would prove too great a handicap. Albert W. Hawkes has in fact occupied a position in the Senate as far to the right as the walls of the chamber will allow, driving the state organization to advise him solemnly that on this account he "would be rendering a notable service to the state and nation if he were to withdraw." In his place the Trenton leaders, headed by Governor Driscoll, have hit upon David Van Alstyne, Jr., who, in spite of entertaining the political views appropriate to an Englewood stockbroker, has pledged himself to Driscoll on two counts: he will support all-out aid to Europe and continued rent control.

Jersey Democratic leaders, similarly convinced that this is not reaction's year, are still on the hunt for a liberal candidate. Boss Hague's pursuit of General Robert W. Johnson is not credited with much chance of success, but several county leaders have begun gingerly and informally to explore the possibility of running Under Secretary of Labor David A. Morse. A young Roosevelt Democrat, with combat service and a good record as general counsel to the National War Labor Board, Morse would undoubtedly minimize the inroads into the Democratic vote by an independent Wallace candidate.

REPUBLICAN doubts as to the staying quality of the third party stem naturally from the behavior of Bob Kenny at the Chicago conference of the Progressive Citizens. The effervescent Californian left no doubt in the minds of reporters that for him the Wallace campaign was a "stop-Truman" movement rather than a third party. "I'm for Wallace right now in 1948," he said, "I'm for him to be effective in July of 1948 if possible." Nothing about November of 1948. The difference between Kenny and some of his P. C. A. colleagues is the difference between a short-term Democrats-for-Wallace movement and a long-range Wallace-against-the-Democrats movement. Eventually Kenny, who is still chairman of P. C. A., will have to make a choice, and there is hardly any doubt about which way he will go. He is not even supporting the drive in California to get Wallace's name on the ballot as an independent. "Our idea," he is quoted as saying, "is not to back Wallace to elect a Republican, but to elect a liberal," that is, to induce Harry Truman to withdraw in favor of someone like Supreme Court Justice Douglas.

In short, Kenny has his eye on the Democratic convention, and when that is over, he is likely to be found still in the ranks of the party. A prominent Washington Democrat who is fond of Kenny attributes the Californian's erratic politics to the fact that "he was born on Hallowe'en and has never got over a fondness for overturning outhouses." But he is not likely to push his unorthodoxy to the point of political suicide.

Whether the Wallace forces could stand Kenny's defection on top of those already sustained and indeed whether Wallace himself might not be persuaded to withdraw at the crucial moment are thoughts that must make fitful the sleep of Republican leaders.

PARADOXICALLY, the gravest fear of the Republican committeemen was not that their party might lose the election but that it might win with the wrong nominee. In a sense their meeting was a council of war at which it was decided that, if they could help it, the party's rank and file would have no chance to make Dwight Eisenhower the Willkie of 1948. Now that the General has taken himself out of the race, the relief of the professionals is mingled with speculation as to who will benefit most by his withdrawal. The faint chance that either Taft or Dewey would yield to the other for the sake of eliminating the common threat is gone, increasing the probability of a deadlock. Thus in the long run Eisenhower may prove to have given the nomination to a Warren, the election to Truman, and a booby prize to the committee.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Conspiracy Against Partition

BY LILLIE SHULTZ

NO MORE cynical veto was ever applied by a major power to a United Nations decision than Great Britain's refusal to comply with the recommendation of the General Assembly on November 29 that "an area situated in the territory of the Jewish state, including a seaport and hinterland adequate to provide facilities for substantial immigration, shall be evacuated at the earliest possible date and in any event not later than February 1, 1948."

The reason given by Sir Alexander Cadogan for this refusal was that his government was unwilling to jeopardize an already delicate situation and create new troubles for its security forces in the Holy Land. Sir Alexander repeated on January 21 what had become the standard British response to all inquiries about cooperation during the U. N. deliberations—namely, that "so long as the mandatory regime is maintained it must retain undivided control over the whole of Palestine." He added: "For this reason it is not possible for my government to comply with the recommendations concerning evacuation of a Jewish port and hinterland so long as the mandate continues." Sir Alexander had apparently forgotten that Britain had also undertaken to maintain peace and security in the Holy Land until its withdrawal.

With British troops numbering 80,000 to 100,000 in Palestine, a modern army with modern equipment, it is none the less a fact that since November 30, 1947, there has been raging in that small country fierce warfare, initiated by the Mufti and the Arab Higher Committee, carried out in the first instance by Arabs of Palestine, and supported by the surrounding Arab states and bands infiltrating from these states. Is this a war of such proportions that it could not have been nipped in the bud by the mandatory power? And if it is, why has it not been brought to the Security Council?

WHEN partition was voted, several facts encouraged the belief there would be a minimum of violence, at least until the independence of the two states was established: (1) the presence of large British forces and the declared intention of the mandatory power to maintain security; (2) the existence of the Haganah, and its ability to keep order provided it were recognized—as the U. N. clearly intended it should be—as the armed militia of the Jewish state and promptly supplied with arms; (3) the absence of any important Arab military force inside Palestine and the inability of the Arabs to wage an armed struggle unless supplied and directed from the outside; (4) the assumption that open flouting of a U. N. decision would evoke prompt action.

But neither the presence of the British military forces, nor a police department responsible to them, nor 165 emergency-defense regulations—which before partition were applied almost exclusively to the Jews—prevented Arab excesses. In many instances British troops have been passive spectators of attacks on the Jews, and in some, accessories. The British authorities have permitted a band of the Mufti's henchmen, calling itself the Arab National Guard, to besiege the old city of Jerusalem while holding 1,700 Jews as hostages, and have even concluded an agreement with this band permitting British troops to enter the old city to distribute food and other necessary supplies. Though the Mufti's organization, the Arab Higher Committee, is directing the whole operation, not one of its leaders has been arrested. In fact, the Palestine government itself is distributing rifles to Arabs in the villages, ostensibly to enable them to defend themselves. Members of the Haganah, on the other hand, are being systematically disarmed. Recently the British withdrew from Jaffa and Tel Aviv leaving their protection to Jews and Arabs under British command. The Arabs were armed by the British; the Jews were not, on the excuse that they had stores of arms.

Regular incursions into Palestine of Arabs from Syria and Lebanon and other Arab states for the purpose of attacking Jews are openly tolerated.

Far from permitting the Haganah to act as a militia to help maintain order and carry out the U. N. directive, British authorities are treating it as a terrorist agency. Meanwhile the Arab Legion operates in the key Jewish sections of Palestine, and Palestine Arabs are equipped with arms sent in by the Arab states or turned over to them by Arab members of the British police.

Without doubt this reign of terror could be ended without great loss of life and without additional military force. Its continuance is to be attributed directly to British policy, which has countenanced the war in Palestine as a form of political blackmail whose immediate objective is to defeat the partition plan and consolidate the British position in the Middle East. The long-range objective of this policy is to pave the way for the extension of the Truman Doctrine to the whole Middle East. To that extent at least, our State Department is implicated.

WHY are the British conspiring with the Arabs to carry out their armed revolt against the Jews? The reasons are simple:

1. Bevin and some of his Foreign Office colleagues are not averse to a little bloodletting—particularly of Jewish blood.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

2. Britain intends to remain in Palestine. It is therefore ready to help along a situation which will "prove" the partition plan to be unworkable and open the way for some form of the Bevin federation plan as a substitute. As the mandatory power with large forces on the spot, Britain could then be persuaded to handle the carrying out the scheme as agent of the United Nations.

3. Should this fail, the British have another plan. At the appropriate moment, if nothing disturbs the stage as it is now being set, they will permit Emir Abdullah of Transjordan to overrun the whole of Palestine with troops of the Arab Legion—British trained, officered, and equipped. As a result (a) Abdullah will give up his ambition to annex Syria and Lebanon; (b) the British will be assured of the Negev, bordering on Egypt, of Haifa with its pipe-line terminus and port facilities, and of the port of Aqaba, giving access to the Red Sea; (c) the states of the Arab League will be rid of the Mufti and his rabble-rousing potential which the governing hierarchy in each state fears; (d) the Jews will be herded into a kind of ghetto in a restricted area with limited autonomy, and Britain, in the role of protector, will endeavor to reconcile them to this fate. Thus the primary aim of the Arab revolt—an Arab Palestine—will have been achieved. And Britain will have won.

This is no pipe dream. It is the "reserve plan," approved in London and worked out by Brigadier Clayton, British military expert in Egypt, with leaders of the Arab League. And the Arab League is still the creature of the British, with Brigadier Clayton the only non-Moslem regularly permitted to attend its meetings. Key officials in the United States Defense and State departments are familiar with the plan.

The prime object of Bevin's foreign policy is to assure the continuance of old concessions or their extension—military, political, and economic—in order, on the one hand, to protect Britain's oil empire and, on the other, to advance the plans of the Anglo-American alliance for containing the Soviet Union. For this purpose bases are needed on both sides of the Mediterranean. These the Arabs could well afford to give in return for being allowed to carry through their revolt.

THE first results of this British strategy became evident on January 15 with the signing of the new Anglo-Iraqi military treaty. This was a renewal of the 1932 treaty whereby Britain obtained air bases, facilities for moving troops and equipment, the right to supply military and civilian advisers and technicians, joint control of the British-built railways and the port of Basra, and the right to move in troops if war threatened.

To be sure, under the new treaty Iraq is granted complete territorial independence and with it the air bases of Habbaniya and Shaibah. But Britain retains the right to use these bases until peace treaties have entered into force with all former enemy countries. Britain also continues to sell arms to Iraq. And an annex to the treaty states: "In the event of either high contracting party becoming involved in war or a menace of hostilities, His Majesty the King of Iraq will invite His Britannic Majesty to bring immediately to Iraq the necessary forces of all arms and will furnish to His Britannic Majesty on Iraqi territory all the facilities and assistance in his power. . . ." This prize may yet escape the British. Iraqi nationalists are protesting against the terms of the treaty, but this may turn out to be only a maneuver to gain further concessions.

Another treaty which has just come up for renewal is that with Transjordan. Under the present treaty Transjordan is nothing but a British base. The British are not only authorized to station, maintain, and transfer troops and ammunition to Transjordan, but also to train such armed forces as the Emir is assumed to require, with the British undertaking to defray all costs.

Other negotiations are under way with Egypt, Saudi Arabia, and both Syria and Lebanon.

The stakes for which the British are playing in Iran, Iraq, and Kuwait include an oil reserve of something over fifteen billion barrels. The exclusive rights to the oil deposits of Iran and Kuwait are held by the Anglo-Iranian Oil Company. The British government owns 50 per cent of the shares of that company.

British and American oil interests mesh throughout the Middle East, and with them military interests as well. The Gulf Oil Company of the United States owns 50 per cent of the Kuwait concession. Socony-Vacuum and Standard Oil of New Jersey own approximately 25 per cent of the Iraq Petroleum Company and all its interests. The largest oil concession—that in Saudi Arabia—is owned exclusively by American interests. It has a reserve of five billion barrels, will run until the year 2005, and last year paid $17,000,000 in royalties to King Ibn Saud.

If Britain has bases in Iraq and Transjordan, the United States now has a base in Dhahran, where our air force operates a field built during the war. A deep-water port is being constructed near Dammam, eleven miles from Dhahran. A pipe line being laid through Transjordan and Syria to Port Sidon in the Lebanon is expected to be completed in 1950. It will be capable of delivering 300,000 barrels of oil daily at the Mediterranean port. Last week the United States announced the reopening of a war-time airport at Mellaha near Tripoli in Libya, where the British still maintain control. This, coupled with Britain's announcement that it plans to use Cyprus as a military base and with the Greek vote against partition at the U. N., gives a clear indication of Anglo-American plans and illuminates some of the reasons why the State Department seems to be conniving at the defeat of the United Nations plan for Palestine.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

SINCE the disorders began, the United States has given no indication that it intends to take action to implement partition, either by helping to bring about British compliance with the U. N. decision or by securing the protection of the U. N. commission and the Jews of Palestine through an international police force. All signs point in the opposite direction.

According to the decision of the General Assembly, the commission is responsible to the Security Council. When the report of the Assembly's action was brought to the Security Council, the Arab attacks had already started. But the United States took the position that there should be no discussion of the question then.

The representatives of the United States, it should be underscored, take their instructions directly from the State Department and not from the President. When some weeks ago Secretary-General Trygve Lie sent out a questionnaire to the Big Five and other important states, asking about their attitude toward an international police force in view of the occurrences in Palestine, the United States failed to make any reply. Earlier the United States had favored a volunteer force.

But the positive acts of the United States are even more disturbing. At the General Assembly, when the protection of the Jewish community was discussed, the American representatives in closed meetings and press conferences and in personal conversations among members of the delegation and the press, took the position that the Haganah would be recognized, without question, as the Jewish militia and would speedily be provided with sufficient arms to carry out its functions.

On December 6, just a week after partition was voted by the Assembly, the State Department announced an embargo on arms to the Middle Eastern countries.

What is the effect of this unilateral act? First, obviously, it prevents the arming of the Haganah. Second, the seven Arab states are in a position to buy arms from all other member states and turn them over to the Mufti and his cohorts. That is precisely what is happening. Britain has announced that it will not impose an embargo and will honor its commitments to send military supplies to the Arab states. This means that the United States is accessory to a maneuver by which the Jews of Palestine are being exposed to annihilation, for it is impossible for the Jewish Agency to purchase arms in the legal market as long as the Jewish state is not recognized. It means further that American lend-lease and surplus military supplies in many countries are being used to defeat partition and wipe out the Jews of Palestine.

Before the crucial vote in the U. N. was taken, Loy Henderson and his colleagues in the Division of Near Eastern and African Affairs told President Truman that any further pressure on the Arabs would jeopardize the defense program. After the vote Herschel Johnson, United States representative on the Palestine committee, was reprimanded by Loy Henderson for carrying out too energetically the President's order to support the resolution. More recently the State Department has told the President we have done more than was necessary, and that our role now should be to wait and listen.

Apparently the Arab states are not afraid of U. N. reprisals, for the governments of Syria and Lebanon are openly flouting the partition plan while Syria sits as a member of the Security Council. The Premiers and the Defense Ministers of both countries are responsible for the collection of funds, the registration and training of volunteers, and the assembling of arms to be sent into Palestine. This was reported to the Lebanese Parliament on January 15 by the Minister of Defense.

On January 14 the Arab paper *Al Masri* quoted the Syrian Defense Minister as saying that the training and arming of "volunteers" in Syria was progressing satisfactorily and an all-out attack against the Jewish community of Palestine could be expected within a month.

AT SECRETARY MARSHALL'S press conference on January 21 a representative of *The Nation* asked whether in his belief the invasion of Palestine by Syrian troops constituted a threat to peace and security which the United States might take up with the Security Council. Secretary Marshall brushed the question aside with the comment, "I don't want to talk about it at this time."

From another source *The Nation* has learned that the United States has no intention of sending American troops to Palestine or of initiating any action leading to an international police force in which Americans would participate. Secretary of Defense Forrestal has privately threatened to resign and denounce the Administration should it contribute American troops to an international force or give impetus to the formation of such a force. Nor do we intend to lift the arms embargo.

The United Nations Commission on Palestine will by February 1 make its first report to the Security Council. The report must of course cover (1) the refusal of the British to comply with the terms of the resolution; (2) a description of the disorder in Palestine and its sources. A special report will deal with the desire of the commission itself to be protected in Palestine by armed force as well as the United Nations flag.

Which country will take the initiative in suggesting action to restore order becomes the crucial question. Were the Russians to do so, they would play directly into the hands of the British, who would like nothing better than proof of the Soviet desire to gain a foothold in the Middle East. France, beset by its internal difficulties and the special problems of its Moroccan empire, can be counted out. So can China, now in the midst of the most delicate negotiations with the State Department. The two countries which remain are Great Britain and

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

the United States. What will the United States do? Will President Truman be bullied by the State and Defense departments into believing that further action by the United States would jeopardize the defense program? Or will he refuse to be swayed by the spurious arguments of Loy Henderson, Secretary Forrestal, and Admiral Leahy?

The United States could do a number of things which in no way involve American troop movements or our so-called defense program. We can face the issue of British recalcitrance and insist that it be ended. We can tell the Arab states that we recognize their complicity and will not tolerate it, and we can back that statement by the following specific acts:

1. Expose the Mufti as a war criminal through the publication of the secret files which were seized by the American occupation forces in Germany.

2. Insist upon the arrest, indictment, and trial of the Mufti as a war criminal.

3. Demand the extradition and trial of Kauwkji, now in Syria, the actual field commander of the Arab forces being siphoned into Palestine.

4. Take the initiative in demanding that all members of the United Nations place an embargo on arms shipments to the Arab League states.

5. Demand the immediate recognition of the Haganah as the defense force of the Jewish people of Palestine and its proper equipment for defense purposes by member nations of the U. N.

6. Urge the establishment of an international police force with all possible speed—this force to comprise contingents of small powers to maintain internal order, but to be assured of big-power support in the event of external aggression.

THE Arab world is incapable of a sustained revolt without the active support of the Western nations, including moral encouragement, military supplies, and the training of troops.

As I have shown, the present disturbances can be laid to British connivance. As long as the United States fails to take appropriate action, the inference must be that the State Department, in agreement with the British, is deliberately undermining the pledges of the President of the United States. For this reason, if for no other, Mr. Truman himself should investigate the efforts to defeat his directive on Palestine. What is involved here is not simply the honor of the United States. Peace and security are at stake. Only the naive will believe that alliance with Arab feudal overlords, most of whom were yesterday in the camp of the enemy, constitutes a first line of defense in any war, cold or hot.

What Do We Want in Italy?

BY DONALD DOWNES

Rome, January 15

LUIGI EINAUDI, Italy's Secretary of Treasury, has become a sort of Italian Andrew Mellon. He has stopped the inflation in Italy; in May the dollar brought over 800 lire; now it is only worth 576.

Italians say he is where he is because of a political double play: Marshall to Jimmy Dunn to De Gasperi. Maybe that is not literally true, though it well may be. But one thing is certain: "the Americans like him—he's a good old-school banker."

But *how* has he stopped inflation, if he has? Not by trying to balance Italy's fantastically unbalanced budget, not by trying to collect the taxes already written into law (the rich do not bother to pay in Italy), not by creating new taxes. His was a simpler method: he simply stopped all new domestic credit, however good the security, by the banks. But notice I said *domestic* credit; the big monopolies like Pirelli (rubber) and Montecatini (chemicals) and a dozen others have received nice, fat loans in dollars direct from the Import-Export Bank.

But their little competitors cannot borrow; so they cannot manufacture; so they cannot export; so they cannot buy raw materials; so they need the Marshall Plan to get raw materials, if it ever percolates down to them. That is, they cannot do these things unless they come to friendly understandings with the big guys; so they do, most of them.

If the credit squeeze does not get them, the squeeze put on by the Import-Export Bank in each industry is sure to. Rather informal associations of the big factors in each industry confer with the Treasury and the Ministry of Foreign Commerce on the allotting of Italy's precious hoard of dollars for the purchase of raw materials. Any little fellow hangs around the ministries weeks and even months, usually to get a turn-down in the end. For the big fellows it is a matter of a phone call. So the big fellows buy more dollars than they need and resell them to the little ones at swollen profits, with the dollar representing from 1,000 to 1,500 lire.

DONALD DOWNES, formerly correspondent of The Nation *and the Overseas News Agency, is one of the heads of the AM. E. A. literary agency in Rome.*

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

It is nearly the same story for an export license. The result is that the little manufacturer has to sell to his bigger rival, who has more export permits than he needs for his own goods. It is no odd coincidence that these "big fellows" were also the "big shots" behind fascism before the war.

Of course, the truth of the matter is that Luigi Einaudi has not checked inflation; he has pegged the dollar by depreciating the lira an additional 75 per cent and stopping domestic credit. But if inflation is measured by what the workingman buys with his pay, then inflation in Italy goes merrily on. When Einaudi first froze credit, prices fell for a while, but they are again on the way up, in step with the printing presses, which hum busily printing lire to accommodate the grossly unbalanced budget.

THE wildcat finances of this Italian government of the Washington-Vatican Axis and the favors showered on the monopolies are not all the ammunition we are giving the local Communists. Everyone has written about the glaring inequalities in Rome, starvation and extreme luxury side by side. But I have just come back from two weeks in Sicily, where I saw, as I saw there in September and June, shops laden with sweets, unrationed, with a cake costing three days' pay for a workman. Both restaurants and shops sold meat seven days a week (only three are legal), white bread, white spaghetti, whipped cream —sold them, that is, to the rich who had the price. The conventional answer to such stories about Rome has always been that Rome is an exception, with two diplomatic corps, many tourists, the Vatican. But Catania, a Sicilian city of 250,000 people, is no exception. It is just an ordinary provincial city. When I asked the restaurant owner where I was dining one night how it was that they did not obey the laws even as much as in Rome, he replied, "Rome doesn't care what we do down here. The Americans can't see it." And don't think the Communists don't know that, too, and aren't saying it in a thousand street-corner meetings in Italy.

In the little towns in the country it is interesting to ask who actually hands out American relief of all sorts; it is invariably the priest, and he as invariably hands it out to those who vote the Christian Democratic ticket. I'm sorry I didn't see Drew Pearson when he was over here with the cargoes of the Friendship trains. As an American in Italy I was proud of the Friendship trains. I think they represented honest generosity, from the heart. But I am awfully afraid of what happened to those packages over here! I would have liked to ask Drew if he was able to set up machinery for distributing his supplies that didn't allow a priest, between the food and each hungry mouth, to decide what mouths were worthy to be fed. The Communists talk about these things a lot.

The American cardinals are all, I am sure, good citizens. If the President and the State Department asked them, they would intervene to stop the biggest black market in Italy—the one that makes it hardest for Italy to control its own foreign exchange. If an Italian wants to buy a few hundred or a few thousand dollars illegally, he just goes to the illegal *agenti di cambio* on the Piazza Colonna, and the affair is quite easy. But if he wants to buy a hundred thousand dollars or a million he goes to the Vatican—technically, under Mussolini's Concordat with the Holy See, an independent country.

Major X, a friend of mine, wanted exactly $400,000 in twenty-four hours to buy a great bargain in left-over PX supplies just before the army left Italy last fall. He got it, at a price about forty points above the current black-market rate. For the church moves a lot of its American income to Italy to pay current expenses, political and general. And to exchange Peter's Pence at the official or even the current illegal rate—no thank you!

Like many before him, Major X went to a certain monsignor and plunked down the lire that he and his Italian friends had got together. His dollars were deposited in New York, a thing which could not possibly go on without the knowledge of the American hierarchy of the Catholic church. And the Togliatti boys know this, too, and they talk about it.

Of course, if what we are trying to do is to jell the Italian social and economic system which formerly spawned fascism and supported it, if that is why we are taxing ourselves to pay for the Marshall Plan, then there is no use growling. But if we pretend we want to protect democracy, we had better try to help Italian democrats while there are still a few to help.

DO MR. TRUMAN and Mr. Marshall really want to tie a tin can to the tail of Italian communism? If so, they will propose a few changes in Italy. They will insist on a reformed tax system, enforced, so that the rich (who now don't) and the poor (who now do) will both pay taxes. They will insist that the feudal land system of southern Italy be reformed, at least to the extent where the peasants can have a hut instead of a hole in the ground —literally. They will insist that the church stay out of politics as it is required to do in every democracy in the world. They will break up the monopolies which now control Italian industry and are seeking for an opportunity to recreate fascism as they created it before.

They will also make sure that American food goes to the Italian masses and not to the rich, who now buy it on the black market. They will insist that Italy clean out the generals now controlling its armies and the admirals controlling its navy who faithfully served fascism—as most of them did. They will drop a few broad hints that America won't go on forever nourishing an Italian society and government that make General Grant's Administration look like the New Deal.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

A New Dred Scott Case

BY SARA LAMPORT

Washington, January 21

DISCRIMINATION is as much a law of nature as gravity," the little gray-haired man told the Supreme Court. "We not only discriminate in the food we eat, but in the clothes we wear and everything that we do. . . . The right to discriminate is a precious privilege. . . . Forced social equality is tyranny."

The court was hearing argument on the legal force of restrictive covenants on private property. A bare quorum of six justices was sitting—three had chosen to disqualify themselves. Half the lawyers on the benches were colored; so was most of the audience. Many people had stood long hours in the lofty stone corridors outside, waiting to hear this momentous case of civil rights versus property rights.

A few minutes before Henry Gilligan, the covenanters' lawyer, made his plea for discrimination, the grandson of a slave had stepped to the bar. George L. Vaughn, a St. Louis lawyer, had told the court in moving tones that the Negro who today asks for the same right as a white man to live where he chooses has in his hand a receipt for three centuries of unpaid toil. "As he knocks at the nation's door," Vaughn said, "the Negro cries, 'Let me come in and sit by the fire. I helped build this house.' "

THE restrictive covenant is very commonly found in the private zoning regulations drawn up by landlords. It provides that the property is not to be owned, used, or lived on by certain races or groups. It is handed down to each successive owner or renter as an integral and mandatory part of the bill of sale or lease; generally it appears in small type at the bottom of the contract, where it may escape notice until the new owner or renter is already committed. The restrictive covenant is chiefly aimed at Negroes, but it is used today in literally millions of real-estate agreements to exclude Jews, Latin Americans, Chinese, Indians, Japanese, Greeks, Armenians, Assyrians, Filipinos, Persians, Koreans, Arabs, Ethiopians, Mexicans, Hawaiians, Puerto Ricans, and "non-Caucasians" in general.

The argument of the anti-covenanters, supported by the United States government, was that since a state may not, constitutionally, segregate people by race or color, it may not, through its courts, enable private individuals to segregate them; what it may not do for itself, it may not do for others. The covenanters, reflecting the views of the real-estate interests, answered that a private contract is a private contract. Unless courts enforce the covenants, they said, home-owners are threatened with the loss of valuable property rights and of equal protection under the law. It is true that a ruling against the legal sanctity of covenants might dynamite the nation's property structure. Thus the court may be facing up to a Dred Scott decision in real estate.

SARA LAMPORT, now a free-lance writer in Washington, has been correspondent for the New York Herald Tribune *and the* New Republic.

FEW informed persons expect the covenants to be banned by the court's decision, which will be announced about two months from now. It is thought that by reducing itself to six members the court has made a three-to-three tie very possible, and in that case lower-court decisions which have till now buttressed the covenants will prevail. A two-thirds' majority of four to two is now necessary to invalidate the covenants rather than the simple five-to-four majority of a full court.

Justices Reed, Jackson, and Rutledge, who gathered their robes about them and stepped down from the bench when the hearings were announced, gave no reason for their action. It is traditionally left to a judge's discretion to withdraw if he feels he cannot give a fair hearing. If he has a compelling financial interest in the outcome of a case, he will naturally bow out—and covenants are clearly a prop to valuable property rights.

Racial zoning bans are so extensive that they often crop up in improbable places. Justice Wiley Rutledge, distinctly a liberal, joined Justice Frank Murphy in writing a blistering attack on racism recently in a California land case. Yet in the land records of the District of Columbia an old mortgage on Justice Rutledge's home carries this proviso: "No part of the land hereby conveyed shall ever be used or occupied or sold, demised, transferred, conveyed unto, or in trust for, leased, rented, or given to Negroes, or any person of the Semitic race or origin, which racial designation shall be deemed to include Armenians, Jews, Hebrews, Persians, Egyptians. . . ." Persons employed as domestics are, however, exempted. The property was bought by Justice Rutledge subject to "covenants of record," which he obviously did not impose. Other specifications in the mortgage, by the way, say that no woodshed may be built—this might be construed to bar an outhouse—and no boarders taken, nor can the place be turned into a night club.

Justice Jackson acknowledged to a reporter that he succeeded to a covenant with the property he bought near Jamestown, New York, which has another twenty-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

five years to run. Justice Reed apparently owns no covenanted land, and his reasons for abstaining are unknown.

Left on the bench to decide the crucial case were the so-called "conservative majority" and the so-called "liberals." On the one side, Justice Frankfurter, professorial and meticulous, asking questions without seeming to move his lips; Justice Burton, with his fixed wooden-Indian glance; and that benign, jowled bloodhound, Chief Justice Vinson. On the other, Justice Black, a white-faced Roman senator; Justice Murphy, whose head might have been hewn from rock by Gutzon Borglum; Justice Douglas, with the air of a roguish cherub.

FOR the government, Solicitor General Philip B. Perlman launched the case with a strong *amicus curiae* brief. The crucial issue, as he defined it, is whether restrictions on the sale or occupancy of real property based on race or color can be squared with the letter and spirit of the Constitution. Judicial enforcement of such restrictions, he held, constitutes a denial of the rights of a citizen under the Fifth and Fourteenth Amendments. "The executive branch of the government says that the judicial branch of government, state and federal, has no authority to enforce such covenants, and should no longer be permitted to do so," he declared. If a man refuses to sell his land to another, he added, that is his own business and involves no interference with the Constitution. But when a court of law, an agency of the government, backs up a covenant, and ousts a Negro who has unwittingly bought a covenanted house, the public policy is involved.

Mr. Perlman also argued that covenants exist in such numbers as to amount to legislation. They contradict the principles of human equality proclaimed in the Charter of the United Nations. And the bottling-up of the ever-increasing Negro population in cramped Harlems the nation over raises crime and disease rates. Chicago's South Side has 75,000 people to the square mile—almost seven times that of the city as a whole. It is estimated that 80 per cent of the land in the city is restricted. In Washington 70 per cent of the people in the city's worst slums are Negroes. Covenants fix the boundaries of Negro areas in most cities, the Solicitor General pointed out, thwarting normal expansion and adding an "artificial and special housing scarcity to a general scarcity." To sustain the covenant would fossilize forever today's pattern of prejudice, he said. Millions of Negroes, he concluded, were waiting outside the courtroom to discover if ours is a government of men and not laws, and he urged that "racial covenants be relegated to the limbo of other things as dead as slavery."

Documenting the case, Phineas Indritz of the Solicitor's Office, said that in California covenants were forcing Korean and Chinese veterans out of their homes. In Bethesda, Maryland, a Gentile wife was asked by certain individuals in the community to oust her Jewish husband and three small children from their home. In Ohio a Negro clergyman is being ordered by the court to leave his restricted parish. On the West Coast a white man was required by law to evict his wife and his three children because his wife was a three-quarters Seneca Indian. In Michigan is a Negro husband who may not visit his white wife in their home, by order of the court. All these cases are pending, and the decisions will hinge on the Supreme Court's findings.

Other "friends-of-the-court" briefs pointed out that in Maryland land is now euphemistically restricted against use by "persons of a race whose death rate is higher than that of the white or Caucasian race." In Virginia there are covenants which delicately proscribe the use of land by "persons who customarily observe the seventh day of the week as the Sabbath." It was not the Jews, ironically enough, but the Seventh Day Adventists who first got enmeshed in that one.

DURING the two-day argument the justices asked few questions. The real-estate boys hewed to the line that people have a constitutional right to make contracts concerning their private property and to decide to whom they will or will not sell. Neighborhoods agree on covenants, said Mr. Gilligan, not out of race hatred but because people want to live their lives among neighbors of their own choosing. He blazed away at the "irrelevance" of the sociological data in the government's "astounding" brief. Justice Frankfurter questioned the bearing of such data in two of the four cases being tested.

With a good deal of justice Mr. Gilligan expounded on the "greed of unscrupulous real-estate speculators, posing as friends of the Negroes while mulcting them of large sums of money." But perhaps the best card in the covenanters' deck was played when James Crooks, a suave attorney, refuted the idea that covenants are against public policy in the cases originating in Washington. He asked why Congress, which governs the District, had not seen fit to abolish segregation or the covenant "rule of property." "It is not for the judiciary to substitute its judgment for that of the legislature where the legislature is given that duty," he insisted. And he added that the motive for a private contract is no business of the court's.

Judge Henry W. Eggerton of the United States Court of Appeals for the District of Columbia does not agree. In a dissenting opinion in one of the recent covenant cases he has declared: "The question in these cases is not whether law should punish racial discrimination, or even whether law should interfere with it in any way. The question is whether law should affirmatively support and enforce racial discrimination." And we can no longer afford, as the President of the United States told the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People last year, "the luxury of a leisurely attack upon discrimination."

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

New Year's Eve at Zagorsk

BY ALEXANDER WERTH

Moscow, January 10

ON NEW YEAR'S Eve I took the train to Zagorsk, a small town of some 50,000 inhabitants, forty miles north of Moscow. Zagorsk is famous for its walled monastery and its magnificent churches, dating from the fifteenth and eighteenth centuries. One of them contains the exquisite fifteenth-century ikons of "Russia's Giotto," Andrei Rublev. The monastery looms large in Russian history; in 1608-09 it withstood almost two years of siege by the Poles, and it was the stronghold of Peter the Great during some of the early troubled years of his reign. The houses of the present town, most of them wooden, are spread around the monastery.

The train was packed with children, soldiers, peasant youths, and some grumpy old men and women. The windows were thickly frosted over. Youngsters climbed into the baggage racks and threw their fur caps at one another across the carriage. From one corner came the loud shouts of a crowd of young fellows playing cards. I heard no mention of high politics during the entire journey. Many people talked about the shopping they had done in Moscow. On the whole they were greatly pleased with the new prices and with all the things that could now be bought. I sat next to a red-cheeked peasant girl with a scarf over her head and such a heavily padded jacket that she looked like one of those toys they hang up on New Year's trees here. Next to her sat a thin young man who soon produced a notebook and proceeded to read her some poems. One was about moonlight and the river, and the "deep red rose of love which is for you." He got off at an intermediate stop and I asked the girl if those had been his own poems. She laughed and said, "Yes, he's a future poet. He's got himself a ginger-haired love, and now never stops writing the stuff." Then she opened her copy of *Pravda* and buried herself in the latest instalment of "The Last Days of Hitler." "Awfully exciting, this," she said; and a young soldier sitting opposite agreed: "Very good story. Interesting to see the German point of view about the war. Hitler was nuts, but the Germans were pretty good soldiers, all the same. My brother was in the Battle of Berlin, and it was tough."

WE ARRIVED. The monastery, under the snow, in the moonlight, with its battlements and onion domes and its baroque belfry built in the days of Catherine the Great, was almost too good to be true. I took a room in the little hotel opposite its gate and went out to discover what one could do in Zagorsk on New Year's Eve. In the main square colored lights blazed on an enormous New Year's tree. Despite the hour several shops were still open to sell vodka and Soviet champagne, chocolate, cheese, and sausages. Everything except the liquor was being sold at the former "ration" prices. There was plenty of everything. Two restaurants were still serving, and I got a good meal at one of them for twenty rubles; an excellent platter of steak and onions was nine and a half rubles, only a third or a quarter as much as a Moscow restaurant would have charged before rationing was lifted.

The feature event on the evening's program was the great ball at the Youth Club. The club's headquarters are inside the monastery, in a large building where the monks formerly lived. This part of the monastery was taken over by the civilian authorities years ago. Ninety monks have resettled here in the last few years, and while most of the churches are being maintained only as museum pieces, services are held in one of them.

There was nothing clerical about the club building now, however. In the main hall hundreds of couples were dancing around a New Year's tree. Just outside the hall was a mailbox marked "Cupid's postbox," where you dropped requests for the "number" you wished to dance with—the girls wore numbers pinned to their dresses. Many of the girls also wore comic masks.

Suddenly the band stopped playing, and a young man announced that "the Kremlin clock has just struck twelve, and a Happy New Year to you all." There was a rush of hugs and handshakes, with *S'novym godom* repeated a thousand times. Afterward the dancing was resumed and kept up for hours. Many of the girls preferred to dance with each other rather than with men they did not know. All the wallflowers were men.

ON NEW YEAR'S morning Zagorsk looked like a holiday greeting card. The gilded and painted domes of the churches were bright in the sunlight, white smoke rose from chimneys, peasants' drove horse sleighs along the roads, children slid on the hills.

I walked along the main street to the main square, and then to the *Kolkhoz* market, and got a lesson in what the monetary reform means to Russia. A fair was being held in the square, and a dozen booths had been set up. They were selling all sorts of consumer goods—padded jackets, cotton cloth, handkerchiefs, bed sheets, shoes, towels, all at prices far below the former scale. The regular stores also offered a large variety of goods, even musical instruments and countless odds and ends

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

like toothbrushes, toothpaste, combs, brushes, ribbons, and children's books. Bearded peasants were buying a lot of these things, commenting favorably on the prices and the plentifulness of the supplies. The food shops, despite the rush on them of the night before, still had a good deal left to sell. It was all quite impressive.

In the *Kolkhoz* market, where the peasants sell their surplus, the high prices of the war years, or of last year, or of even a month ago, had disappeared. If potatoes sold for one ruble a kilo in the state shops, here they sold for one and a quarter. A month ago in Moscow a kilo cost seven (old) rubles, and last year, before the harvest, more than twenty. The best onions are nine rubles a kilo, as against seventy or eighty some months ago.

The drop in the "free" price of most food is heavier than that in the price of consumer goods. The monetary reform of December 14, of course, does not establish a fixed price level in the *Kolkhoz* markets and co-ops. To maintain their trade, the co-ops have now brought their prices down to those of the state shops. In the *Kolkhoz* markets prices will not rise much above state prices unless supplies run low in the state shops, or distribution becomes difficult. Short of a bad harvest, however, this is not likely to happen. The inducement will be great, therefore, for collective peasants to concentrate less on growing produce for sale and more on working for the collective farms, where payment is made partially in cash—now in full-value rubles, with which consumer goods can be bought inexpensively. Prices agreeable to all and a general increase in consumption are expected to result from the reform, though for the present the urban population is more favored than the rural.

Douglas of Illinois

BY JULIAN J. STEEN

Chicago, January 14

ON DECEMBER 30, after weeks of vacillation and the unseemly peddling of political plums, the Democratic slatemakers of Illinois finally chose Lieutenant Colonel Paul H. Douglas as the party's candidate for the United States Senate.

Douglas's participation in professional politics, as distinguished from public service, is of relatively recent origin. It was not until 1939—after many years of distinguished service as professor of industrial relations at the University of Chicago, as writer, as consultant on unemployment, labor problems, and social legislation—that he made his first bid for public office. That year, in response to the urging of numerous friends, he agreed to try for a place on the notorious, machine-dominated City Council of Chicago. After a spectacular campaign he was elected alderman from the high-browish University of Chicago Fifth Ward by a big majority.

Frequently outvoted in the council by the fantastic score of forty-eight to two (receiving support only from Alderman John Boyle, now Democratic candidate for state's attorney), he nevertheless succeeded in focusing public attention upon such flagrant evils as the wretched housing conditions among Chicago's Negroes, the predatory behavior of certain traction magnates, the debasement of the public-school system by grafting politicians, the pitifully inadequate allowances for unemployment relief. His one-man campaign could not be expected to cleanse Chicago's Augean stables, but without doubt his activities served as a ferment to bring into being an independent block in the City Council and helped to arouse in a cynical citizenry some interest in their municipal government. All this culminated last fall in the election of the able and independent Martin Kennelly as mayor.

Douglas's next important venture into politics—aside from an energetic campaign for F. D. R. in 1940—was his attempt to get the Democratic nomination for United States Senator in 1942, against the progressive but ineffectual Raymond McKeough. The power of the Kelly-Nash machine, with its ample war chest, proved too formidable for the zealous amateurs who labored in behalf of Douglas. McKeough won, but in the November election, largely as a result of down-state resentment against dictation by the Cook County machine, the Democratic nominee was overwhelmingly defeated by the McCormick-sponsored Republican isolationist, C. Wayland Brooks. Senator Brooks is now one of the leaders in the isolationist fight against the Marshall Plan in the Senate.

PEARL HARBOR followed the election, and Paul Douglas, who for years had joined in warning the American people against the menace of Nazi and Fascist aggression, enlisted, at the age of fifty, as a private in the Marine Corps. Nearly three years of foxhole and beachhead combat duty in the South Pacific brought him rapid promotion to the rank of lieutenant colonel, a

JULIAN J. STEEN is director of the Chicago School for Adults. He is a member of the A. D. A. and is about to file as a candidate for Representative in Congress from the Second Congressional District of Illinois.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

shattered left arm, and a decoration for bravery under fire.

On his discharge Douglas returned to his teaching post at the University of Chicago. His distinguished record, both civilian and military, made him a natural choice for the Democratic nomination for the Senate. But the party machinery creaked and groaned, and no indorsement was forthcoming. There were complications—for instance, the valid claim for organization support advanced by Adlai Stevenson, a prominent lawyer and alternate delegate to the U. N. But Douglas boldly stole a march on the procrastinating slatemakers. Early in December he announced his availability as Democratic candidate. Immediately he received a pledge of all-out support from the militant Independent Voters of Illinois, Chicago affiliate of Americans for Democratic Action. An exuberant "Marines for Douglas" committee was organized. The political fires built under the slatemakers finally drove them to give Douglas their indorsement in the last days of 1947. Adlai Stevenson, who would have preferred the senatorial nomination, was consoled with indorsement for the governorship.

What are Douglas's prospects for wresting the Illinois senatorial seat from "Curly" Brooks, himself a Marine Corps hero of another world war? They depend in large measure on the effect of Henry Wallace's third party on the campaign. The nomination in the April primaries is in the bag. But should Wallace's followers make good on their already avowed intention to enter a candidate for the as yet anonymous party sponsored by the P. C. A., he might well draw enough votes from Professor Douglas to throw the election to the Republican incumbent. It need not be assumed, however, that all Wallace supporters would vote for the independent candidate. Much as they may resent Douglas's sharp criticism of Soviet tendencies, many respect his personal integrity and militant liberalism. Some of them, I believe, will vote for him, or at least abstain from voting, rather than risk electing a faithful follower of the McCormick line.

With due recognition of the conventional theory that American citizens are not swayed by religious, racial, or factional affiliations, one may still safely hazard a guess that Douglas will receive a substantial majority of the following categories of votes: (1) the traditional Democratic vote; (2) the enlightened Negro vote; (3) the vigilant Jewish vote—both because it is predominantly liberal, and because of the well-grounded conviction that Douglas would prove a more persuasive advocate of justice to the new-born Jewish state than his Republican adversary (the influential Yiddish daily *Forward* has already indorsed Douglas's candidacy); (4) the informed, alert C. I. O. and A. F. of L. vote; (5) the Willkie-oriented, internationalist minority in Illinois Republican ranks.

He will certainly have the support of two of Chicago's five newspapers, the *Sun* and the *Times*, and in all probability that of the *Daily News*.

The opposition of the "World's Greatest Newspaper with an Atomic-Bomb Shelter," of the bulk of the Republican Party, especially its rural isolationist element, and of a portion of the Wallace-P. C. A. following should not offset the array of factors in Douglas's favor.

In the Wind

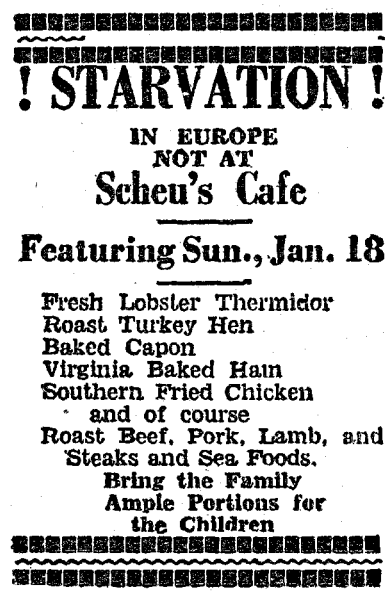
FLITTING past a few open garbage pails, the Wind comes up this week with a short, short story, told in quotations:

"Miami Beach, Fla., Jan. 16 (AP).—Former President Herbert Hoover said today, 'It is a remarkable commentary on the free-enterprise system that the United States and three other democratic countries containing only 8 per cent of the world's population are supplying 90 per cent of the food moving in world commerce.'

"Hoover, in an interview, named the other countries as Canada, Australia, and Argentina. He is here for a fishing trip."—The Washington *Post*, January 17.

"If you can afford $5 for dinner, a beautiful way to please the inner man is to dine in the Drake Room of the Drake Hotel at Park Avenue and Fifty-sixth Street. If that's beyond your purse eat your cheese and garlic, as Hotspur in a windmill, and with peace of mind. There is nowhere so pleasant to be as well within your income.

"The Drake is for the town's nice people who like nice things like caviar and mink and the better wines. It's a place where John Frederick's hats nod politely to Anita Andra models, where men order steak Diane with calm assurance, without worry or pleasure in the fact that a steak costs $4.95."—Clementine Paddleford in the New York *Herald Tribune*, January 10.



—The Manhattan, Kansas, *Mercury-Chronicle*, January 18.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Del Vayo—Report on Germany

Zurich, January 17

ZURICH is a good window into Germany. In the first place, Swiss business men and officials are constantly coming and going between this city and all four occupation zones. In the second place, centuries of neutrality have made the Swiss the most detached, dispassionate people imaginable. I think it interesting, therefore, to report without comment some of the things they have said to me about Germany since the London conference and the creation of Bizonia.

On one point the Swiss with whom I have talked are agreed: German desire for national unity has never been stronger. It is on this feeling above all that the Russians are counting. In their opinion, however much the Germans in the eastern zone—or any zone—may hate Slavic Russia or its political system or its economic regime, Russian customs or faces or manner of walking, they hate still more the threat of a divided Germany. As a result Soviet propaganda since the London conference has begun to make slow but steady progress. It is addressed to a people, politically speaking, still in its infancy. The very young generation so far has no political horizon; for the very old a united Germany is as constant as the air they breath—they simply cannot conceive of "Bizonia." The only ones who accept the idea are the politicians, men who deal in political realities and tell themselves that since division was inevitable, the intelligent thing is to accept the fact and make the best of it. But the politicians have little authority; and what little they have disappears as soon as they come to be regarded as quislings.

Swiss observers believe the Americans are being dangerously misled by the seeming "Americanization" of their zone. The transformation is more apparent than real. Basically the German mind remains closed to the penetration of American and Russian ideologies alike. In his optimistic New Year's Eve speech General Clay predicted that food supplies will be better in 1948. According to the Swiss this will make little change in the situation, in spite of the desperate shortage in the western zones; no doubt the Germans will thankfully eat more American calories, but they will also work harder to substitute a unified Germany for Bizonia.

One of my informants is a representative of a Swiss relief organization; he has lived for long periods in the United States and speaks both English and German fluently. "In Berlin," he told me, "I spoke to many people, most of them middle-class intellectuals who had been persecuted by the Nazis. Their sympathies and connections are largely with the Western powers. Yet even they were bitter about the creation of Bizonia. 'It won't work,' they said, 'and in the long run will only make the Russians stronger.' "

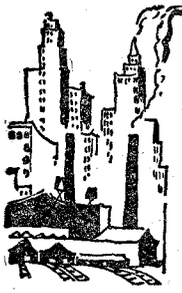
In recent weeks the Germans have become increasingly cynical. The politically mature are convinced that without economic unity, backed by political unity, there is no hope of German revival. Yet they would prefer the problem of Germany to remain in suspense until some miracle brings agreement between the Russians and Americans. It is curious to note this contradiction in the thinking of many Germans: On the one hand, nothing would please them more than to see Russia and the United States embroiled in the kind of quarrel that can only end in war, giving Germany its one chance to become again an active factor in world politics. On the other hand, they deplore the split between the former allies. No doubt they would like to have their cake and eat it too.

With all this explosive material lying about, unemotional Swiss find it almost incomprehensible that the occupying powers should air their rivalries on German soil. One Swiss described a visit to a *Jugendhof* in the American sector of Berlin, a sort of Boys' Town for juvenile delinquents, most of whom have been picked up for petty thievery. The head of the institution explained that the majority of the inmates are first offenders and on the whole decent boys—the experienced black marketeers are rarely caught. Most of them insist they were not stealing: "We didn't take anything from Germans—only from Americans." And one of them remarked, "This is just what the French and Dutch kids did during the occupation; they took things to help their families and their countries. And now we're doing the same."

From now on the rising tide of mutual recriminations and accusations between the divided zones will speedily erase whatever respect the Germans may still have for their conquerors of yesterday. Here the major role will be played by a press that has been intrusted, irresponsibly, to German journalists some of whom are former Nazis, others fanatically pro- or anti-Russian, and still others completely corrupt. All of them will delight in pouring out their bias, resentment, and venom. The Swiss are shocked by the level of the daily papers in Berlin. The magazines and reviews are generally of good quality, but the daily press in all zones has hit a level of savagery that borders constantly on libel. Until now the possibility of an eventual Russian-American agreement has held the German journalists somewhat in check. Since the rupture at London and the creation of Bizonia their insults know no bounds—for whether the authorities are Russian, or American, or British, or French, they are still the enemy.

I asked one Swiss who had spent some time in the Soviet zone about the amount of freedom of expression accorded teachers in the schools and universities. He said the teachers to whom he spoke had experienced little difficulty in getting along with the Russians, "who have a deep respect for good craftsmanship"; much depends, the Germans said, on tact and diplomacy in dealing with the Russian occupation authorities. A Swiss professor told me that when he was last in Berlin a progressive "School Bill for Greater Berlin" was voted by the town parliament, with only the reactionary C. D. U. (the former Catholic Center Party) in opposition. The bill, drafted by an old left-wing Socialist school reformer, is a masterpiece of compromise on unessentials and of conciliation on principles sacred to the Liberals (L. P. D.) and the two Socialist parties. It remains to be seen how the program will work out in practice.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED



EVERYBODY'S BUSINESS

BY KEITH HUTCHISON

The Oil Shortage

DURING last winter's cold spell in Britain many people who had acquired heaters, cookers, and other electrical appliances after the war ended found they could not use them freely because of lack of power. This was partly due to lack of coal, partly to the fact that generating capacity was unequal to the increasing load. Opponents of the government jeered: the planners, they said, had allowed appliance makers to go full steam ahead without thought of the resultant strain on power resources.

Curiously enough, in this country we have now run, all unplanned, into a very similar situation. Since the war 1,300,000 new domestic oil-burners have been installed, increasing the demand for fuel oil by two and a half billion gallons a year. But the supply of oil has not expanded sufficiently to meet the demand, particularly during the recent cold weather. Consequently hundreds of thousands of householders with nice new oil-burners are shivering at their telephones, frantically seeking a dealer who will supply their needs. And if they are fortunate enough to obtain oil they are paying dearly for it.

The shortage of oil is by no means solely due to its increased use for domestic heating. A recent advertisement of the Sun Oil Company pointed out that the annual demand for oil products is twenty billion gallons greater than in 1941. Every category of consumer—motorists, truckers, railroads, airlines, farmers, industry, and the armed services—is using much more than before the war. The advertisement says that the company, and by implication the industry, has done everything possible to keep up with the demand.

A high official of the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) admitted recently that one reason for the present stringency is that the industry has persistently underestimated demand. Last spring a spokesman for the same concern said he expected an increase of 7 per cent over the next twelve months. Actually, 1947 consumption appears to have been about 17 per cent greater than in 1946. The Bureau of Mines, on the basis of whose forecasts state control agencies fix crude production quotas, also underestimated daily average demand in 1947 by some 217,000,000 barrels, about 3.5 per cent. Had it come closer to the actual figure, it is possible that both crude and refined production would have been expanded more during the summer months and bigger reserves built up for the winter. Oil men will deny this, quoting Max Ball, director of the oil and gas division of the Department of the Interior, who says that oil wells are operating at the "maximum efficient rate of production."

However, the recent remarkable spurt in output of both crude and refined products suggests that the oil industry was not stretching itself to the fullest possible extent in the spring and summer of 1947. The industry has been claiming all along that it was doing its best under every sort of handicap. Nevertheless, when it really became alarmed by public clamor for price controls and government allocation of supplies, it showed that its "best" could be bettered.

Even with the industry operating "all out," it will be hard put to satisfy consumers' full demands until its current big expansion program is further advanced. Meanwhile, oil men declare that nothing would be more fatal to production than the reimposition of controls. They assert that oil companies are now endeavoring to supply their own customers regardless of costs—for instance, by hauling oil to the East Coast in railroad tank cars, which adds 5 cents a gallon to transportation charges. If price ceilings were reinstated, these companies, it is suggested, would be disinclined to use such expensive methods unless subsidized, as they were during the war. Moreover, we are warned, any step that served to curtail earnings would discourage oil-field exploration and the building of refineries and other facilities, which must be financed mainly out of profits.

At present prices profits are certainly large enough to encourage and pay for plenty of expansion. In the first nine months of 1947 oil-industry earnings reached an all-time high, with big crude producers doing especially well. Fourth-quarter profits, yet to be reported, should be still better, for since the beginning of October crude prices have risen by 70 cents to $2.65 a barrel. Before the industry escaped from OPA in July, 1946, the ceiling was $1.27.

Crude prices, in fact, have advanced altogether too fast to suit the major integrated companies, which refine much more crude than they produce. Last July 24 the Standard Oil Company (New Jersey) tried to stem the tide by announcing that it would not pay higher prices for crude or raise prices for refined products unless such increases tended to bring out additional supplies. And Eugene Holman, president of the company, denounced as "inflationary" the action of Sun Oil in raising its "posted" price for crude by 50 cents on November 28. But the giant New Jersey concern and all the other majors soon followed Sun Oil's lead.

The big refiners, we are told, would like to check the increase in prices, but their hands are constantly being forced by the little fellows. With everyone scrambling for crude, small refiners try to enlarge their share by offering premiums over the posted prices. As a result, the big companies find their supplies leaking away and eventually are compelled to increase their bids in order to keep their plants operating.

The alleged purpose of the latest price boost—the largest on record—was to discourage the premium business. It is doubtful whether it has done so. According to reports from the oil fields, the auction is beginning again, and unless Congress provides price control, a new general advance seems inevitable.

All this goes to show, according to the *Wall Street Journal* of December 10, 1947, how competitive the oil industry really is. Unfortunately, it seems to be competition with a one-way stretch: in a sellers' market it serves to push prices up, but in a buyers' market it loses much of its elasticity. The record shows that the dominant organizations in the industry, powerless as they may be to prevent prices from going too high, are well able to check their over-precipitous descent.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

BOOKS and the ARTS

NOTES BY THE WAY

BY MARGARET MARSHALL

I AM PLEASED TO SEE that the University of California has brought out a volume of the writings of Horatio Greenough, the American sculptor (1805-1852) who had things to say about art and architecture, particularly in America, that are still fresh and relevant. The volume bears the title "Form and Function" ($2.75). It is edited by Harold A. Small and has an introduction by Erle Loran, author of the important book "Cézanne's Composition," published some years ago.

Greenough was born in Boston. When he graduated from Harvard in 1821, he went immediately to Italy to study and practice sculpture. He lived there most of his life, but his ties with his homeland remained strong and close. He was a confirmed believer in republican principles and deeply interested in their working out in America. Transatlantic travelers frequented his studio in Florence, and his friends, and sitters, included many of the distinguished Americans of the time. He returned home in 1851. In the next year—he died at its close—he published a volume of essays and comments, "Travels, Observations, and Experience of a Yankee Stonecutter," under the pseudonym of Horace Bender. After his death Henry T. Tuckerman, the art critic, published the "Memorial of Horatio Greenough," containing most of the essays in the "Travels" and a number of others. In 1887 a volume of his letters to his brother was published. Some fifteen or twenty years ago Van Wyck Brooks wrote an essay about him. Quite recently F. O. Matthiessen quoted him in "American Renaissance." But Greenough's writing, like his sculpture, has remained for the most part unknown and unnoticed since his own generation. His sculpture, I gather, was mediocre, but his writing, by which he probably put much less store, has force, charm, and wit. And as Mr. Loran points out in his introduction, some of the ideas he propounded in the fifties were hailed as new when they were set forth much later by people who had probably never heard of Greenough.

The creative ideal that "form follows function" is now commonly associated with architects like Frank Lloyd Wright. We trace Wright's development back to Sullivan and thence to Richardson, who was born in 1838. To most it will come as a surprise to learn that the American sculptor, Horatio Greenough, born in 1805, had formulated ideas on art and architecture that read, even today, like the words of a progressive contemporary.

Mr. Loran goes on to note that Greenough anticipated Le Corbusier when he said that buildings designed primarily for use "may be called machines."

Greenough has not been credited with his ideas partly because of the deep American compulsion to forget the past or to regard it as irrelevant and partly because Greenough propounded them rather casually in casual essays. To those who feel, as I do, that a sense of continuity is one of the elements which make for maturity in nations as well as individuals, it seems useful as well as just to give Greenough his due of credit and place. But the main reason for reading him is not that he can be fitted into a game of precedence—after all, Franklin had ideas about functionalism, too—but that he wrote well and had interesting ideas.

Greenough's lifelong study and informed appreciation of the art of the Old World provided him with high standards of critical judgment. His perception that culture is an organic process kept him from assuming that the American manifestation should or could be "just like" the European, though both had many common roots. The mere copying of Old World forms seemed to him worse than futile, and he was hot against the Greek revival. He found the American sailing ship beautiful because its form was so perfectly fitted to its function. On the other hand, he was merely distressed, and makes the reader share his distress, at the spectacle of a copy of a Greek temple, necessarily distorted and corrupted, set down in a place, a climate, and a human context to which it had no relation whatsoever. "I contend for Greek principles," he said, "not Greek things." The American builder, he went on to say, "by a truly philosophic investigation of ancient art will learn of the Greeks to be American."

Greenough's prose bears the marks of his time, but the marks are superficial, and he is surprisingly unquaint in his expression and approach. Then too he has a nice sense of humor. I am thinking at the moment of a remark he made in a piece on The Virtue of Chastity, not included in this volume, about the "bands of *soprani* . . . who have laid down their manhood not to attain heaven but to reach B flat."

INADVERTENTLY I TUNED in on one of those conversation pieces on the radio in which commercials are worked into the patter—and I am not speaking of the programs which kid the sponsor. These pieces have a queer fascination for anyone interested in the uses of language and tone. They achieve, among other things, a kind of suspense which arises from the listener's knowledge that every sentence has an ulterior motive, that any preposition may lead to a proposition, and that when he is least ready and willing he will find himself gloating, vicariously, over a breakfast food.

Then there is the sound of the voices engaged in this project. From my experience no performer—and this is a tribute to the human race which I gladly pay—can make the stuff sound like anything but what it is, though presumably the primary objective is to make it sound like anything but what it is. The tone gives the game away even before a commodity has been mentioned. Invariably also the tone conveys a "message" to the listener, which runs like this: "I know that you know that I know that this is ridiculous. But people must live." I won't be surprised if an announcer says it out loud some day under extreme provocation—that man, for instance, who gets, or used to get, so "enthusiastic" about Flexees on WQXR.

Part of the program I heard was devoted to an interview with the creator

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

of a popular comic strip. In speaking of his early experience he said that one of the most valuable bits of advice he had ever got was the warning that he must learn to say no. This remark, which was not developed, came ironically over the radio, of which one of the most common and most boring adjuncts is the yes-man. "Yes! Humpty Dumpty means the *best* dried egg! Yes!"

Stop Press: In the current advertisement for a soda water the performer impersonates a parrot saying "Yes!" It was, of course, inevitable.

This astonishing book shows us that history no longer provides a guide to our future actions

E. M. FRIEDWALD analyses the nature of our present crisis with relentless logic, and answers the problem of sovereign nations in an atomic age by suggesting a simple and positive procedure. Friedwald's statements are bound to create controversy; but they are likely to reinforce the beliefs of a great majority of thoughtful Americans.

"A book of great lucidity and wise simplicity. In four pithy chapters, packed with significance, the author sets before us neat and telling summations of urgent realities we are slow or even loathe to comprehend. . . . He has something to say, and he knows how to say it."
—ROBERT M. MACIVER, *Saturday Review*

"Friedwald has stated the dilemma with admirable clarity."
—THOMAS J. HAMILTON, *N. Y. Times*

At all booksellers $2.00

MAN'S LAST CHOICE

THE VIKING PRESS

Pontiac's War

PONTIAC AND THE INDIAN UPRISING. By Howard H. Peckham. Princeton University Press. $4.50.

IN HIS foreword Mr. Peckham explains that his intention is to write a biography of Pontiac and not to "rewrite Parkman." No life of the famous Indian chief has ever been published, perhaps for the reason that the available material is so discouragingly scanty. Mr. Peckham has ransacked the records as diligently as any man could, but he is still unable to provide us with a well-rounded portrait of his subject or to account in any detail for more than the last few years of his career.

The difficulties confronting the conscientious biographer of Pontiac are well illustrated by the second chapter of this book, which has the title: His Early Life. Without one well-authenticated fact on which to build—even the date of Pontiac's birth is conjectural—Mr. Peckham is forced to pad in a manner that borders on the absurd. Thus he writes: "As no incidents of his childhood or early manhood have been preserved, we can only assume that his youth was passed in typical Ottawa fashion. . . . As a baby, no doubt, Pontiac was swaddled onto a small cradleboard."

However, if Mr. Peckham has been defeated by the impossible task he set himself, that does not mean he has not produced a worth-while book. Pontiac's rising against English rule, one of the most determined of a long series of efforts to preserve Indian culture from the encroachments of the white man, is an extremely important episode in American history. Francis Parkman dealt with it exhaustively, but that was a long time ago, and meanwhile valuable new material, of which Mr. Peckham makes excellent use, has been discovered. And if his style lacks the eloquent glow of the older historian, he carries his narrative forward with greater expedition.

Mr. Peckham not only has more evidence than was available to Parkman but possesses a better-trained critical sense with which to appraise it. Broadly speaking, the two writers agree on the causes and significance of Pontiac's war, but they differ sharply in their description of some actual events. Thus Parkman maintained that Pontiac was assassinated in a forest near Cahokia by a member of the Kaskaskia tribe of the Illinois, and he was fairly certain that the deed was instigated by the English. Mr. Peckham, on the other hand, cites evidence to prove that the murder was actually committed on the village street of Cahokia by a Peoria warrior. He throws cold water on the rumors of English involvement, which he ascribes to French propaganda. Finally, he emphatically contradicts Parkman's story that Pontiac's followers avenged his death by almost extirpating the Illinois tribes.

While Mr. Peckham disagrees with Parkman on a number of points and corrects him on others, he would be the last to claim that he had outmoded "The Conspiracy of Pontiac." What he has done is to provide for that fascinating classic a scholarly supplement which students of American history will find of great value. KEITH HUTCHISON

Rolland and "Jean-Christophe"

JOURNEY WITHIN. By Romain Rolland. The Philosophical Library. $3.

THESE meditations do not form a connected biography. Of the five chapters two, The Family Tree and Amore, Pace, deal with living people —Rolland's ancestors, his parents, his "only" friend Malvyda von Meysenbug. The other three—The Trap, The Three Revelations, The Archer—are lyrical effusions. To my taste, which is by no means catholic, all five are unbelievably bad. The most elaborate portraits—of his mother, his venerable Roman Egeria —are genuinely tender but no less patently mawkish. The poetical parts have the vague effulgence of Tagore and Gibran at their worst. The translation, competent enough, is unable to redeem the style. It was said that Rolland spoke Swiss with a strong Esperanto accent. To give his prose definiteness and vigor, a translator would have to be deliberately faithless.

"Journey Within" is no senile work; it is genuine, authentic Romain Rolland. This raises a problem. Here is a man cultured, sensitive, well-meaning to a fault, but lacking in strength and with very moderate artistic gifts. How did he achieve fame? And how did he write one truly important book? He was the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

belated moonshine of the great nineteenth-century idealists—Michelet, Tolstoy. Their humanitarianism, derided, had never totally disappeared. Rolland, a laggard, appeared as a forerunner. As in "Decline and Fall" (Waugh's, not Gibbon's), he won the race because he was a lap behind. Then he identified himself with music, which gave overtones to his toneless prose. He dared to stand, long before Abetz and Laval, for Franco-German reconciliation; and the absurd Franco-German feud weighs on both peoples like a remorse. With its Germanism, its Europeanism, its "forty-eight" brotherhood, its musical background, "Jean-Christophe" remains a significant work, with elements of greatness; it towers far above "Men of Good Will." When he seeks power, Rolland is merely forced. But at times, in gray upon gray, he achieved delicate strength. Jean-Christophe is a mere trade name; Sabine, Schultz, Antoinette have a thin, pale, but undeniable life.

ALBERT GUERARD, SR.

Fiction in Review

IT IS seldom I have so double a response to a book as I have to Truman Capote's "Other Voices, Other Rooms" (Random House, $2.75). This is a first novel—or, more accurately, long novelette—by the twenty-three-year-old writer whose shorter fiction has already brought him much notice from the advance talent scouts. I can well understand what the shouting has been about: not since the early work of Eudora Welty has there been an instance of such striking literary virtuosity. Even if Mr. Capote were ten or twenty years older than he is, his powers of description and evocation, his ability to bend language to his poetic moods, his ear for dialect and for the varied rhythms of speech would be remarkable. In one so young this much writing skill represents a kind of genius. On the other hand, I find myself deeply antipathetic to the whole artistic-moral purpose of Mr. Capote's novel. In Mr. Capote's case, as in the case of so many of the most gifted contemporary artists, I would freely trade 80 per cent of his technical virtuosity for 20 per cent more value in the uses to which it is put.

In some respects "Other Voices, Other Rooms" can be read as a perfectly realistic story. Set in the rural South, it is about the miseries, fears, and loneliness of a thirteen-year-old boy who on the death of a beloved mother comes to live with his unknown father —only to discover that the father is a helpless paralytic, the father's newest wife an imbecile, and Randolph, the remaining member of the household, a middle-aged degenerate aesthete. We can even include in the general realistic pattern certain of the other characters that surround the young Joel in his new environment: the tomboy Idabel, who is incapable of the tender girlishness that Joel needs in a friend; the century-old Jesus Fever, the Negro mule-driver; Zoo, the colored housemaid whose native warm-heartedness we watch disappear in a developing religious hysteria. But this realism, already sufficiently weighted in the direction of nightmare, is overlaid with so many trappings of symbolic horror that the book as a whole has predominantly the air of a work of surrealist fantasy. Thus,

THE STATURE OF

Thomas Mann

Edited by Charles Neider

Essays on many aspects of Mann's life and work by:
W. H. Auden, G. A. Borgese, Charles Jackson, Erika and Klaus Mann, Bruno Walter, Lewis Mumford, André Gide, Reinhold Niebuhr, Harry Levin, Kenneth Burke, Heinrich Mann, Joseph Warren Beach, Conrad Aiken, and others.

New Directions Books, 500 Fifth, New York City—$5

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

as if it were not bad enough that Joel's father is a paralytic, he is a paralytic whose only means of calling for aid is to drop red—not even white—tennis balls from his bed, which bounce slowly down the stairs to the lower floor of the house—though there is no reason why he should not simply ring a bell! Or Miss Amy, the father's wife, in addition to being feeble-minded, must have a wooden hand on which she always wears a glove! Or Cousin Randolph, in addition to his other pleasant habits, must collect the wings of bluebirds which Miss Amy has killed for him with a poker! This claptrap, however skilfully set on the page, paradoxically enough changes what might be a valid symbolic statement of the loneliness and decay of modern life into merely the latest chic example of Southern Gothic. In large part it transforms a sincere if ambiguous psychological study into a self-conscious titillation of the nerves of the reader.

But happily for Mr. Capote's future as a novelist, the transformation is not complete. Despite its surrealist paraphernalia, "Other Voices, Other Rooms" does manage to convey a serious content. At the end of the book the young Joel turns to the homosexual love offered him by Randolph, and we realize that in his slow piling up of nightmare detail Mr. Capote has been attempting to recreate the emotional background to sexual inversion. What his book is saying is that a boy becomes a homosexual when the circumstances of his life deny him the other, more normal gratifications of his need for affection.

Well, I am not equipped to argue whether or not this is a sound explanation of the source of homosexuality. Nor does the question interest me here. Much more interesting, it seems to me, is the implication of Mr. Capote's book that, having been given an explanation of the *cause* of Joel's homosexuality, we have been given all the ground we need for a proper attitude *toward* it and toward Joel as a member of society. For what other meaning can we possibly draw from this portrait of a passive victim of his early circumstances than that we must always think of him in this light—that even when Joel will be thirty or forty, we shall still have to judge him only as the passive victim of his early circumstances? But this is surely a very dangerous social attitude, since, in exactly the same sense in which Joel is formed by the accidents of his youthful experience, we have all of us, heterosexuals no less than homosexuals, been formed by our early experience. Is no member of society, then, to be held accountable for himself, not even a Hitler?

Let me make myself unmistakably clear. I do not oppose the attitude set forth in Mr. Capote's novel simply as it refers to homosexuals but as it refers to all mankind. For it seems to me to create an adult world of passive acceptance in which we are rendered incapable of thinking anybody responsible for his behavior in any department.

And I dwell on it because this blanket indorsement of the deterministic principle is frighteningly current in contemporary fiction. With startling regularity our most talented young novelists present us with child heroes who are never permitted to grow up into an adulthood which will submit them to the test of *conduct*. Or even in novels which have grown characters we see the almost total disappearance of plot; we see, that is, the disappearance of the kind of action in which moral attitudes are properly assessed. Our fiction, in other words, is taking the lead in opting for a world of irresponsibility.

The problem is of course a very complex one. Obviously, in standing against this absolute of determinism, I do not mean to close out all social or personal causality but merely to ask for a mediation between the extremes of causality and freedom. But is this not, after all, what fiction is peculiarly suited to do, to mediate between extremes? Surely the novel, compounded as it is or should be of both psychological insight and dramatic action, is par excellence the medium for bringing both sympathy and moral-social discrimination to bear upon the individual human plight.

But I am afraid that this is not the function of the novel as Mr. Capote sees it. Nor as a large percentage of present-day readers see it; else most of the new writers whom we regard as distinguished would not be found so interesting. Were we to ask of fiction, as we once did, that it base its claim to artistic stature on its moral stature, most of the writing gifts which we celebrate today would fall into their proper place as merely feats of literary athletics.

DIANA TRILLING

"An Immensely Valuable Book"

—Louis Adamic

1000 AMERICANS

The Real Rulers of the U. S. A.

by GEORGE SELDES

"Another George Seldes Book. And a scorcher. As usual it is clearly and cogently written."

***—Professor Roscoe Ellard, School of Journalism, Columbia University*—in Editor and Publisher**

" '1000 Americans' goes about its task of exposing reaction and its domination of our political and economic life with . . . zeal and vigor. . . ."

—Richard Watts, Jr., The New Republic

●

Fourth Large Printing Before Publication
At all bookstores $3.00

BONI & GAER, 133 West 44th Street, New York, N. Y.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Drama

JOSEPH WOOD KRUTCH

"POWER WITHOUT GLORY" (Booth Theater) is a murder melodrama of the sort now called "psychological." It comes to us with high recommendations from London and trailing good out-of-town notices, but it is a bit of a disappointment nevertheless. On the plus side are good atmosphere and an unusually good cast; on the minus side, a rather bewildering number of surprise motives and considerable vacillation on the part of an author who seems unable to decide whether his play is or is not "significant" as well as melodramatic.

The scene discloses a behind-the-shop living-room of a lower-middle-class London family. There is a devoted mother, an amiably ineffectual father, a movie-mad daughter who wishes she were "glamorous," and two sons—one a recently demobilized soldier, the other a weak neurotic who stayed home. In addition there is the fiancée who was supposed to wait for the soldier but who occupied her time by falling in love with the weak brother. All this may sound like a standard set-up for post-war fiction, and it is exactly that, though, as must be admitted, both the characterization and the general atmosphere are somewhat superior to the mere competent slickness one would expect to find. Only English actors could catch the overtones of gesture and accent and attitude which manage to suggest a whole culture, and the present company does it extremely well. Marjorie Rhodes as the mother and Joan Newell as Flo, the would-be glamorous daughter, probably deserve first mention, but the whole troupe works together remarkably well. All the subtle ways in which such a family would be different from a corresponding group in America are clearly communicated, and it is that fact rather than any other which is chiefly responsible for the interesting sense of strangeness which the play creates for us—just as it is doubtless equally responsible for the interesting sense of familiarity which an English audience must experience.

The trouble is that the play tends to become less interesting, as well as less convincing, just when it ought to become more so, and the action is not so real as the people. The weak son, so we and the members of his family gradually learn, has, on sudden impulse, just killed the community's best-known easy girl when she threatened to make trouble between him and his brother's fiancée. Or rather, as it turns out, he thinks that he killed her: she was actually still breathing when his brother came along, realized what had happened, and finished her off because, it seemed to him, that would solve all the problems by allowing him to take the blame and thus freeing his fiancée to marry the man she really loves. This, it is evident, is getting pretty complicated as well as a bit thick, and as the action proceeds it gets more complicated as well as more difficult to swallow. The young daughter threatens to give the show away to revenge herself on the family, but then finds that she only thought she hated them. The weak brother wants to accept the sacrifice of the soldier, but the fiancée can't quite reconcile herself to the proposal that they hang her former lover for the benefit of her present one, etc., etc. By this time it is getting hard to care what happens to any of them, and the grow-

THE YOUNG ISRAEL INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH STUDIES

announces lectures and classes for the spring term of 1948

ENROLL FOR ONE OR MORE OF OUR
38 COURSES FOR BEGINNERS, INTERMEDIATES, AND ADVANCED STUDENTS IN THE FOLLOWING DEPARTMENTS:

Bible—Hebrew*—Jewish History*—Jewish Ethics & Philosophy—Jewish Laws and Customs*—Contemporary Judaism*—Mishnah and Talmud—Social Studies
*Approved for Teachers' Alertness Credits by the State of New York

ADDITIONAL SPRING TERM COURSES:

Family Living and Marriage*—A course for young people—
Lecturer: Dr. Moses Jung—Wednesdays, 7:00–8:30 P. M.

Contemporary Problems of the American Jewish Community—
Lecturer: Dr. Wm. W. Brickman—Mondays, 7:00–8:30 P. M.

Koheleth — The Book of Ecclesiastes—
Lecturer: Rabbi Nachum Bronznick—Thursdays, 8:35–10:00 P. M.

Additional Hebrew Courses for Beginners

FACULTY:

Dr. Gerson Appel
Akiba Ben-Ezra
Dr. William W. Brickman
Rabbi Nachum Bronznick
Rabbi Bernard Charny
Dr. Aaron Greenbaum
Rabbi Bernard Greenbaum
Dr. Sidney B. Hoenig
Dr. Moses Jung
Dr. Joseph Kaminetsky
Rabbi Nathan Posnansky
Rabbi Emanuel Rackman
Dr. Morris Rosenblum
Rabbi Leonard Rosenfeld
Rabbi Morris J. Rothman
Rabbi Elias Schwartz
Rabbi Solomon J. Sharfman
Seymour Silbermintz
Rabbi F. H. Sturm
J. L. Teller
Dr. Samson R. Weiss
Rabbi Chaim Zimmerman
Rabbi Judah Zwick

SPRING TERM: February 9 to May 27 — 15 weeks

Sessions: Mondays to Thursdays—7:00–8:30 P. M., 8:35–10:00 P. M.
FEES: $5.00 per course—Maximum Fee: $15 per term for three or more courses

You may attend the courses of the first week without enrolling

REGISTRATION: TILL FEBRUARY 13

Daily from 9:30 A. M. to 5:30 P. M. (February 9 to February 12, 9:00 A. M.–10:00 P. M.)
Fridays and Sundays from 10:00 A. M.–2 P. M.

Phone or write for bulletin-N5

YOUNG ISRAEL INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH STUDIES
3 West 16th Street, New York 11, N. Y. Telephone WAtkins 9-1525
DR. SAMSON R. WEISS, Director

THE YOUNG ISRAEL INSTITUTE FOR JEWISH STUDIES
is sponsored and maintained by the
NATIONAL COUNCIL OF YOUNG ISRAEL
as a public service

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ing unreality is not helped by three separate resorts to the this-is-the-sort-of-thing-you-read-about-but-didn't-think-could-happen-to-you gambit.

The other trouble is, as I suggested in the beginning, that the author is not quite sure whether or not all this means something. From time to time it occurs to him that some comments on the problem of post-war adjustment might be in order. He makes a few, and then falls back upon occasional tentative efforts to point out that life is strange. This does not, however, prove very fruitful, and he is left with a melodrama which has lost somewhere along the road that simplicity of outline without which melodrama begins to lose its effect. If I may lapse into the pedagogical I will grade "Power Without Glory" thus: as a genre picture B plus; as a melodrama C; as a play of social significance F.

• • • • AMERICAN • • • •
YOUTH ORCHESTRA
DEAN DIXON
CONDUCTOR
Presents
SYMPHONY
AT
MIDNIGHT
FRIDAY NIGHT, FEBRUARY 6TH
11:30 P.M.
TOWN HALL
FIRST PERFORMANCE IN AMERICA
Symphony #24...Miaskowsky
ALSO : BACH : GOEDICKE : PASSACAGLIA
MOZART : TWO-PIANO CONCERTO—TSCHAIKOVSKY : ROMEO and JULIET
PIANO SOLOISTS: **Vivian Rivkin**
Eugene Haynes
TICKETS: $1.20, 1.80, 2.40, 3, 3.60, 4
TEL. AU 3-2681 — AMERICAN YOUTH ORCHESTRA, 302 Convent Avenue
CO 5-8643 — J. PATELSON MUSIC HOUSE, 158 West 56th Street
• • • • • • • • • • • • • • •

National Urban League Guild's
8th Annual Beaux Arts Ball
Friday, February 6, 1948
AT 9 P. M.
at the **SAVOY BALLROOM**
LENOX AVE. & 140th ST
Costume Prizes:
$100 most unique; $100 most beautiful; $50 mystery prize
(Costumes or evening clothes required)
Admission: $1.50 if purchased in advance. $1.75 at door.
Phone Mrs. King, CH 3-1838 for tickets

Films

JAMES AGEE

SEVERAL of the best people in Hollywood grew, noticeably, during their years away at war; the man who grew most impressively, I thought, as an artist, as a man, in intelligence, in intransigence, and in an ability to put through fine work against difficult odds, was John Huston, whose "San Pietro" and "Let There Be Light" were full of evidence of this many-sided growth. I therefore looked forward with the greatest eagerness to the work he would do after the war.

His first movie since the war has been a long time coming, but it was certainly worth waiting for. "The Treasure of the Sierra Madre" is Huston's adaptation of B. Traven's novel of the same title. It is not quite a completely satisfying picture, but on the strength of it I have no doubt at all that Huston, next only to Chaplin, is the most talented man working in American pictures, and that this is one of the movie talents in the world which is most excitingly capable of still further growth. "The Treasure" is one of very few movies made since 1927 which I am sure will stand up in the memory and esteem of qualified people alongside the best of the silent movies. And yet I doubt that many people will fully realize, right away, what a sensational achievement, or plexus of achievement, it is. You will seldom see a good artist insist less on his artistry; Huston merely tells his story so straight and so well that one tends to become absorbed purely in that; and the story itself—a beauty—is not a kind which most educated people value nearly enough, today.

This story and Huston's whole handling of it are about as near to folk art as a highly conscious artist can get; both also approach the global appeal, to the most and least sophisticated members of an audience, which the best poetic drama and nearly all the best movies have in common. Nominally an adventure story, this is really an exploration of character as revealed in vivid action; and character and action yield revelations of their own, political, metaphysical, moral, above all, poetic. The story unfolds so pleasurably on the screen that I will tell as little as possible of it here. Three American bums of the early 1920's (Walter Huston, Humphrey Bogart, Tim Holt) run into lottery luck in Tampico and strike into the godforsaken mountains of Mexico in search of gold. The rest of the story merely demonstrates the development of their characters in relation to hardship and hard work, to the deeply primitive world these modern primitives are set against, to the gold they find, and to each other. It is basically a tragic story and at times a sickeningly harsh one; most of it is told as cheerfully brutal sardonic comedy.

This may be enough to suggest how rich the story is in themes, semi-symbols, possible implications, and potentialities as a movie. Huston's most wonderful single achievement is that he focuses all these elements as simply as rays in a burning glass: all you see, unless you look sharp, is a story told so truly and masterfully that I suspect the picture's best audience is the kind of men the picture is about, who will see it only by chance.

But this single achievement breaks down into many. I doubt we shall ever see a film more masculine in style; or a truer movie understanding of character and of men; or as good a job on bumming, a bum's life, a city as a bum sees it; or a more beautiful job on a city; or a finer portrait of Mexico and Mexicans (compare it with all the previous fancy-filter stuff for a definitive distinction between poetry and poeticism); or a crueler communication of absolute desolateness in nature and its effect on men (except perhaps in "Greed"); or a much more vivid communication of hardship, labor, and exhaustion (though I wish these had been brutally and meticulously presented rather than skilfully sketched); or more intelligent handling of amateurs and semi-professionals (notably the amazing character who plays Gold-Hat, the bandit leader); or a finer selective eye for location or a richer understanding of how to use it; or scenes of violence or building toward violence more deeply authentic and communicative (above all in Huston's terrific use of listlessness); or smarter casting than that of Tim Holt as the youngest bum and that of Bruce Bennett as an intrusive Texan; or better acting than Walter Huston's beautiful performance; or subtler and more

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

skilful collusions and variations of tempo (two hours have certainly never been better used in a movie); or a finer balance, in Ted McCord's perfect camera work, in every camera set-up, in every bit of editing, of unaffectedness, and sensitiveness. (As one fine example of that blend I recommend watching for the shot of Gold-Hat reflected in muddy water, which is so subtly photographed that in this non-color film the hat seems to shed golden light.) There is not a shot-for-shot's-sake in the picture, or one too prepared-looking, or dwelt on too long. The camera is always where it ought to be, never imposes on or exploits or over-dramatizes its subject, never for an instant shoves beauty or special meaning at you. This is one of the most visually alive and beautiful movies I have ever seen; there is a wonderful flow of fresh air, light, vigor, and liberty through every shot, and a fine athlete's litheness and absolute control and flexibility in every succession and series of shots. Huston shows that he is already capable of literally anything in movies except the profoundest kind of movie inventiveness, the most extreme kind of poetic concentration, artiness, soft or apathetic or sloppy or tasteless or excessive work, and rhetoric whether good or bad. His style is practically invisible as well as practically universal in its possible good uses; it is the most virile movie style I know of; and is the purest style in contemporary movies, here or abroad.

I want to say a little more about Walter Huston; a few thousand words would suit me better. Rightly or wrongly, one thing that adds to my confidence that the son, so accomplished already, will get better and better, is the fact that the father has done that, year after year. I can think of nothing more moving or happier than every instance in which an old man keeps right on learning, and working, and improving, as naturally and eagerly as a child learns the fundamentals of walking, talking, and everything else in sight until his parents and teachers destroy his appetite for learning. Huston has for a long time been one of the best actors in the world and he is easily the most likable; on both counts this performance crowns a lifetime. It is an all but incredible submergence in a role, and transformation; this man who has credibly played Lincoln looks small and stocky here, and is as gaily vivacious as a water-bug. The character is beautifully conceived and written, but I think it is chiefly Walter Huston who gives it its almost Shakespearean wonderfulness, charm, and wisdom. In spite of the enormous amount of other talent at large in the picture, Huston carries the whole show as deftly and easily as he handles his comedy lines.

There are a few weaknesses in the picture, most of which concern me so little I won't even bother to mention them. Traven's Teutonic or Melvillean excitability as a poet and metaphysician sometimes, I think, misleads him—and John Huston; magnificently as Walter Huston does it, and deeply as he anchors it in flesh and blood, the Vast Gale of Purifying Laughter with which he ends the picture strikes me as unreal, stuck-onto-the-character, close to arty; yet I feel tender toward this kind of cliché, if I'm right that it is one. One thing I do furiously resent is the intrusion of background music. There is relatively little of it and some of it is better than average, but there shouldn't be any, and I only hope and assume that Huston fought the use of it. The only weakness which strikes me as fundamental, however, is deep in the story itself: it is the whole character of the man played by Bogart. This is, after all, about gold and its effects on those who seek it, and so it is also a fable about all human life in this world and about much of the essence of good and evil. Many of the possibilities implicit in this fable are finely worked out. But some of the most searching implications are missed. For the Bogart character is so fantastically undisciplined and troublesome that it is impossible to demonstrate or even to hint at the real depth of the problem, with him on hand. It is too easy to feel that if only a reasonably restrained and unsuspicious man were in his place, everything would be all right; we wouldn't even have wars. But virtually every human being carries sufficient of that character within him to cause a great deal of trouble, and the demonstration of that fact, and its effects, could have made a much greater tragi-comedy —much more difficult, I must admit, to dramatize. Bogart does a wonderful job with this character as written (and on its own merits it is quite a character), miles ahead of the very good work he has done before. The only trouble is that one cannot quite forget that this is Bogart putting on an unbelievably good act. In all but a few movies one would thank God for that large favor. In this one it stands out, harmfully to some extent, for everything else about the picture is selfless.

It seems worth mentioning that the only thing which holds this movie short of unarguable greatness is the failure of the story to develop some of the most important potentialities of the theme. In other words, "Hollywood," for once,

FREE EXAMINATION OFFER

The Manchester Guardian Weekly

If you appreciate sound, unbiased thinking about British and world affairs, we invite you to read the next four issues of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*—at our risk.

In its 126 years of publication, this outspoken, influential British journal has cared little for gaining mere circulation. Rather it has been more eager to make its voice heard by that small group of levelheaded citizens who think straight and can influence the thinking of others.

" . . . unmistakably, one of the world's half-dozen great newspapers . . . " TIME MAGAZINE

This free-examination offer brings you the air-mail edition of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly* which arrives in New York the day after publication in Manchester. Regular departments of the *Guardian* consist of: (1) This Week, a front-page factual report on world issues (2) Editorial Comment and Criticism (3) Foreign Correspondence (4) London Letter (5) Special Features (6) Books of the Week (7) Recent Verse (8) Cross-word Puzzle (9) Review of Plays and Films (10) Main Currents in Business and Finance.

SPECIAL FREE-EXAMINATION OFFER!

Mail the coupon with $2 for the next 16 issues of the *Manchester Guardian Weekly*. Money refunded in full after 4 weeks if you aren't delighted with this unusual British newspaper, the *Manchester Guardian*.

READ 4 ISSUES ON APPROVAL

THE MANCHESTER GUARDIAN, N
103 E. 48th St., New York 17, N. Y.

Please enter my subscription to the Manchester Guardian Weekly, air edition, as checked below. If I am not satisfied after seeing the first 4 issues, I may cancel and get a full refund of my money. My check is enclosed.

☐ 52 weeks, $7.50 ☐ 16 weeks, $2

Name.....

Address.....

City..... Zone.....

State..... Date.....

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

is accountable only for some minor flaws. This is what it was possible to do in Hollywood, if you were talented enough, had standing enough, and were a good enough fighter, during the very hopeful period before the November Freeze. God knows what can be done now. But if anybody can hope to do anything, I count on Huston, who made "San Pietro" and "Let There Be Light" as an army officer and "The Treasure of the Sierra Madre" as a Hollywood writer-director.

Records

B. H. HAGGIN

TO REPLACE the old volume with the Orfeó Catalá performances of Bach's Cantata No. 4 and the choral portions of the Cantata No. 140, RCA Victor last year issued a new recording of No. 4 made by Robert Shaw's chorus, and now has issued its recording of No. 140 (Set 1162; $4). This gives us the work in its entirety, with the recitatives, and with the two duets for soprano and bass, which, to my ears, are routine and dull products of the style Bach uses for such pieces. The opening choral movement is taken very slowly by the Orfeo, very fast by the Shaw; and it turns out that the music can better stand being taken too slowly than too fast. The closing chorale too is sung more slowly, spaciously, and grandly, and therefore more impressively by the Orfeo; but in this case the Shaw performance is also good. In fact, except for the hurried pace of the opening movement, and except for the bareness of the single bass-notes under the solo voices for lack of a keyboard instrument filling out the harmonies (if such an instrument was used it is inaudible), the Shaw performance is a good one, with beautiful singing by the chorus, competent treatment of the solos by S. Friel, soprano, P. Matthen, bass, and R. Russell, tenor, and fine oboe and violin obbligatos by R. Bloom and J. Fuchs. And it is excellently recorded.

From Columbia we get Mendelssohn's "Elijah," sung by Isobel Baillie, soprano, Gladys Ripley, contralto, James Johnston, tenor, Harold Williams, bass-baritone, and the Huddersfield Choral Society with the Liverpool Philharmonic, under the direction of Malcolm Sargent (Set 715; $22.70). The music is the kind of Mendelssohn I don't care for; the performance is first-rate of its kind—the kind being one with large chorus that produces large masses of sound; and the English recording engineers give it to us reproduced with marvelous beauty, spaciousness, and clarity.

English Decca's contribution in this category is Pergolesi's "Stabat Mater," sung by Joan Taylor, soprano, Katherine Ferrier, contralto, and the Nottingham Oriana Choir with the Boyd Neel String Orchestra, under the direction of Roy Henderson (Set ED-13; $11). The music is mellifluously insignificant; the performance is good, except for the acidulous quality and strong tremolo of Miss Taylor's voice; and for the most part it is well reproduced.

Disc has issued a Russian recording of Tchaikovsky's "Eugene Onegin" (Set 755; $28.56). The music is very beautiful—enough, perhaps, to make one put up with inadequate performance and recording. The Tatiana has a small soprano voice with a strong tremolo; the Olga a contralto also afflicted with tremolo; the Onegin a hard, brightly metallic tenor; the Lenski a more agreeable baritone of no richness or power. And the recording—with its lack of resonant liveness, brilliance, and spaciousness—sounds not only as though it were made long ago, but as though it weren't made with much skill even then. Surfaces are not quiet.

From Vox come three works for piano: Beethoven's Theme and Variations Opus 34, a good early work (Set 602; $3.15); Schumann's Sonata in F minor, the so-called Concerto without orchestra, one of his dullest works (it is difficult to understand why this was chosen rather than the superb F sharp minor) (Set 189; $4.20); and Brahms's Fantasien Opus 116—arid artifice alternating with concentrated saccharine (Set 178; $5). Leonard Shure's playing in all these is very fine, and is excellently reproduced except for over-emphasized treble in the Brahms. Surfaces are not quiet.

Vox also has issued two orchestral works. One is a charming early symphony of Mozart—K. 133, well performed by Edward Fendler with a chamber orchestra (I can, however, imagine the finale with the dazzling lightness and speed it might have), and well recorded except for a loss of brightness and volume near the end of each side (the vinylite surfaces crackle a bit) (Set 171; $5.25). The other is some pleasant incidental music by Purcell for the play "Abdelazer," also well performed by Fendler with a chamber orchestra, and well recorded, but obscured at times by the unusually noisy surfaces of the shellac records (Set 199; $3.93).

From Musicraft comes the great Chaconne from Bach's D minor Sonata for unaccompanied violin, played on the guitar by Segovia—and played with what seem to me involuntary accents and voluntary rhythmic and phraseological distortions (Set 85; $2.85).

And from Technichord two eighteenth-century works for viola da gamba and harpsichord—an engaging Suite in A by Francois Couperin, and an extraordinarily powerful Suite in D minor by Marin Marais—excellently performed by Alfred Zighera and Putnam Aldrich, and well recorded (Set T-9; 5 10-inch shellac records).

EXCLUSIVE! JUST ARRIVED.

A remarkable selection of unusual recordings of rare *music from the 14th Century through modern times* on L'OISEAU LYRE records. Featuring the music of COUPERIN, MOZART, BACH and HAYDN!

A few of the outstanding records in this series:

HAYDN: Symphonie Concertante for Violin, Cello, Oboe and Bassoon (2–12") $6.30
MOZART: Bassoon Concerto No. 2 (Oubradous) (2–12") 4.20
Divertimenti for Oboe, Clarinet & Bassoon, K. 439b No. 1, No. 2, No. 3 & No. 5—Each work (2–10") 3.15
Adagio & Fugue in C Minor K. 546 (Munch) 2.10
BEETHOVEN: Duo for Clarinet & Bassoon (2–12") 4.20
COUPERIN: 4th Concert Royal, Violin, Cello, Flute and Clavecin 2.10
La Sultane (Original version—2 records)... 3.68
Le Parnasse or L'Apotheose de Corelli.... 3.68

Choral Music of the 14th and 15th Century performed by the Stradsbourg Cathedral Choir. Rare vocal music—lieder, etc.—of music by Couperin, Mozart, Schubert and others sung by Erika Rokyta.

Plus more than 100 other items of exceptional interest. Write for complete catalogue N4.

Other outstanding records now in stock include:

BACH: Cello Suites 2 & 3 (Casals)..... $7.35
BOCCHERINI: Cello Concerto (Casals)..... 4.20
MOZART: Sinfonie Concertante (Stiedry).... 5.25
SIBELIUS: Belshazar's Feast..... 3.15
SAINT-SAENS: Violin Concerto No. 3 (Kaufman) 5.51
SCRIABIN: Poems of Ecstasy & Fire (Stokowski) 5.25
BEETHOVEN: "Eroica" Symphony Op. 55 (Weingartner) 8.35
Battle Symphony, Op. 91 & King Stephan Overture, Op. 117 (Janssen)—Plastic.... 7.35
HINDEMITH: Viola D'Amour Sonata—Plastic 4.83

Records shipped safely to any part of the world —Express collect.

For that HARD-TO-GET Recording—

Write, Phone or Visit

THE ELAINE MUSIC SHOP

9 EAST 44th STREET NEW YORK 17, N. Y.
MUrray Hill 2-6154

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Letters to the Editors

Is Mr. Greenberg a Snob?

Dear Sirs: The outburst of Clement Greenberg, in your issue of December 20, concerning the Pyramid exhibition conveyed the impression that that reviewer is a snob hiding behind a mask of political and artistic progressivism.

As working artists, in contradistinction to dilettante publicists, we feel an artist must undergo a slow unpretentious development, learning the tools of his craft and working within the framework of a continuous social and artistic tradition. It seems obvious from Mr. Greenberg's sloppy and insensitive generalities that he was intent on smearing our honest efforts in favor of a wholly decadent, irresponsible sensationalism.

I know little of Mr. Greenberg's positive aesthetic ideals, except for his marked espousal of Jackson Pollock and a desire for "self-assertive violence." Now, art is a manifestation of the human spirit, and Mr. Greenberg should be reminded that the chief feature of man is that he is a reasonable being, with a recognition of socially responsible human values, that human life is a process of logic and order involving an attempt at reasonable communication in dealing with human emotion. The type of self-expression which Mr. Greenberg seems to advocate and which is becoming such a popular fad today is, in effect, a denial of all positive human values for the sake of a degenerate and unwholesome romanticism. I do not derogate any artist's right to paint as he sees fit, but it is rather a person like Jackson Pollock, who in his flouting of the development of craft tradition, of human dignity, is "provincial" and "uncultured," and in the evasion of dealing with workable human values is "timid."

Because a thing is violently spewed forth and irrational does not mean it is emotion. Throwing oneself headlong into a painting does not mean there is anything in the painting. First, one must work and build the self in character. If there is nothing in the self, there is nothing in the painting.

I believe that the members of Pyramid are on their way toward achieving a probity which Mr. Greenberg does not possess; if he did, he would have seen it in them. I am heartily glad that he liked some works, because it is good for artists to be recognized. To all the artists in cold-water flats, allow me to extend a cordial invitation to become acquainted with our organization. For further information, write to Pyramid at 18 Cornelia Street, New York 14, N. Y.

LOUIS FINKELSTEIN,
Chairman, Pyramid

New York, January 10

Or Is He a Critic?

Dear Sirs: Since Mr. Finkelstein—as he says—knows little of my positive aesthetic ideals, he should have hesitated before deducing them all from my espousal of Jackson Pollock. As far as I know, I do not prescribe to art, and I am willing to like anything, provided I enjoy it enough. That is my only criterion, ultimately. If I happen to enjoy Pollock more than any other contemporary American painter, it is not because I have an appetite for violent emotion but because Pollock seems to me to paint better than his contemporaries. I also happen to think Matisse the greatest painter of the day. Is he an exponent of violence, irrationality, sensationalism, or "unwholesome romanticism"? Or is cubism that? For I think cubism the highest school of painting in our century.

I pitched into the Pyramid show because I found it so violently unenjoyable, not because the artists failed to meet any particular prescriptions. Mr. Finkelstein mentions craft. I find more craft in any corner of a Pollock painting than I did in the entire Pyramid show.

CLEMENT GREENBERG

New York, January 15

An Inexact Quotation

Dear Sirs: In his article on Robert Denham in your issue of December 13 Paul Klein quoted excerpts from an unidentified judicial opinion to the effect that

COURSES

RALPH BATES • WILLIAM TROY • HORACE GREGORY • ELIAS TARTAK • NICOLAS CALAS • WILL HERBERG • WALTER TERRY FREDERICK JACOBI • NORMAN MACLEOD MAURICE SHORE • ALEXANDER THOMAS HENRY ELKIN • ANTHONY PENALE DOUGLAS MCLEAN

are among the instructors who will teach over 100 lectures and courses in Literature, Poetry, Philosophy, Political Science, Psychology, Psychiatry, Art, Drama, Music, Dance.

REGISTER NOW—G.I. APPROVED
SEMESTER BEGINS FEB. 1

Write Educational Department for Catalogue

Lex. Ave. at 92nd Street **YM & YWHA** ATwater 9-2400

PUBLISHERS' OVERSTOCK

New Original Editions! Buy Now!

Anthology of Animal Tales: I. T. Sanderson. $5.00. Knopf $2.50
The Human Face: John Brophy. $3.50. (28 illus). 1.00
My Indian Family: Hilda Wernher. (John Day). 1.00
As We Were (American Family Life. 1850-1900); illus. B. Partridge & Bettmann. $4.50 list. 1.00
Money Town (Story of Manhattan Too): F. L. Collins. $5.00. Putnam..... 1.00
Inside Your Home: Dan Cooper (int. dec.) $3.95. 1.00
Experiment in Germany: Saul Padover. $3.75... .50
Aladdin's Lamp: Gorham Munson. $3.75 list... .50
Sixty Million Jobs: Henry Wallace. $2. S&S.. .50
The Devil Is a Lonely Man: Morrison Wood (novel). $3. Crowell..... .50

Postpaid U. S. A. Minimum order mailed $2

DOWNTOWN BOOK BAZAAR
212 Broadway New York 7, N. Y.

Notice to Our Newsstand Readers:

The only certain way of getting *The Nation* regularly is to enter a subscription. By doing so you will not only insure prompt receipt of your copy, but you will make a considerable saving in money over the newsstand price. Why not fill in the coupon on the back cover and mail it to us today?

MOTION PICTURE

JEANNE CRAIN DAN DAILEY
in
"You Were Meant for Me"
a 20th Century-Fox Picture
• ON STAGE •
Fred Robbins introduces Jazz Concert Varieties
starring Louis Armstrong
Featuring: JACK TEAGARDEN • EARL HINES • BARNAY BIGARD
ARVELL SHAW • SID CATLETT • DICK CAREY • BOY FOY
VELMA MIDDLETON • RAY MALONE
Extra — ROBERT LAMOURET AND "DUDULE"
Now Playing **ROXY** 7th Ave. at 50th Street

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Mr. Denham's remarks as trial examiner in a particular case evidenced bias and prejudice.

The quotation is inexact. More important, its use in the article is misleading, for intervening matter has been suppressed. The court thought Mr. Denham's remarks indicated prejudice against the employer and in favor of the board's, and the union's, case. That would be bad enough if true. But it is certainly inconsistent with the impression of anti-union bias which Mr. Klein sought to create in relation to Mr. Denham. Other things in the article apparently rest on gossip relayed to Mr. Klein by unhappy NLRB subordinates and are not readily verifiable. But Mr. Klein's careless handling of legal source materials casts doubt on the validity of the rest of his article.

RICHARD A. PERKINS

Los Angeles, January 13

Edited Out of Context

Dear Sirs: Mr. Perkins's criticism is perfectly correct; as printed, the reference *does* give the erroneous impression of providing proof of Mr. Denham's anti-union bias.

However, as the article was originally written—before it was cut by the editors, in conformity with space limitations—the reference was in a context not of anti-union-attitude examples (for which other facts might be cited), but of general improper attitudes. It was preceded by a quotation from a Senate committee hearing in which, describing his previous duties, Denham said, "The work of a trial examiner, Senator, is comparable to that of a judge in a relatively limited field of litigation"; thus in performing such duties the court believed he had displayed "a wholly improper attitude."

My point, of course, was that regardless of his attitude toward labor, it might well be deemed inadvisable to appoint to the important post of general counsel of the NLRB a person who has proved himself unable to fulfil properly even his own estimate of the requisite functions.

PAUL L. KLEIN

New York, January 15

YOUR HAIR AND ITS CARE

By O. Levin, M.D., & H. Behrman, M.D.

Two medical specialists tell you what to do to save and beautify your hair, stimulate healthier hair growth, and deal with many problems, as:

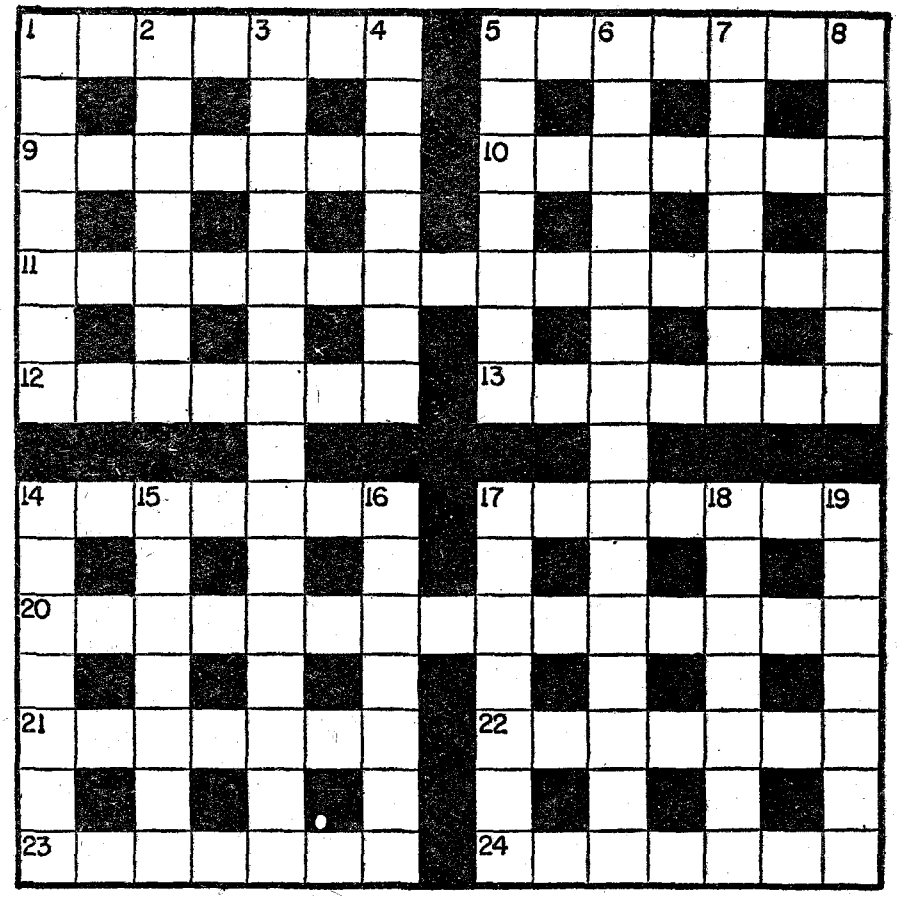
Dandruff—gray hair—thinning hair—Care of the scalp—baldness—abnormal types of hair—excessive oiliness—brittle dryness—hair falling out—infection—parasites—hair hygiene, etc., etc.

"A worthwhile book full of important information."
—Ohio State Medical Journal.

Price $2.00, incl. postage. 5-Day, Money-Back Guarantee
EMERSON BOOKS, Inc., Dept. 232-D, 251 W. 19 St., N.Y.11

Crossword Puzzle No. 248

By FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 One chance to fifty there'll be space for it. (7)
5 In short, courts put a sort of fine first. (7)
9 He reads, and sticks to it. (7)
10 Hearty liqueur. (7)
11 So grim for the day, they look out for people, reputedly. (5, 10)
12 Asks the dentist to put his name back in. (7)
13 Ripe as a flowering shrub. (7)
14 Their habits don't wear well on them. (7)
17 Must ale be changed to make them charming? (7)
20 Not an army captain, but has a firm command. (7, 8)
21 What the stars do in the field..... (7)
22 .....and where they fell. (7)
23 Only a quitter does this! (7)
24 Set in a different way on each side of an article. (7)

DOWN

1 What I did to them when smoke got in my eyes. (7)
2 His meat is poison to a religious man. (7)
3 Batteries usually are in this condition, when you pay for them on time. (8, 7)
4 Alice said they were so called because they lessen each day. (7)
5 .....wages, and out goes their opposite. (7)
6 He carries bar silver around. (5, 10)
7 Fancy this! You'll find me in a broken chair. (7)
8 This land lies as I changed it. (7)
14 Used to little account. (7)
15 When one does, he must behave (and seem different). (7)
16 A virtue in modest maidens, but not in bank tellers! (7)
17 Stir it when surrounded by the small type. (7)
18 Pull out a former pamphlet? (7)
19 Master's disturbed by matters of course. (7)

SOLUTION TO PUZZLE No. 247

ACROSS:—1 LISTLESS; 5 SPIDER; 10 TRIPOLI; 11 BRAISED; 12 ENNUI; 13 POUND CAKE; 14 ALONG; 16 REDOUBTS; 19 HELPMEET; 22 NIECE; 24 ENSCONCED; 26 TEACH; 28 REGENTS; 29 OARSMAN; 30 HOTBED; 31 HELLENIC.

DOWN:—1 LUTHERAN; 2 SCION; 3 LOOKING UP; 4 SKIPPER; 6 PLAID; 7 DISMANTLE; 8 REDEEM; 9 ABOUND; 15 OVERSIGHT; 17 UNNATURAL; 18 MECHANIC; 20 EXCISE; 21 TADPOLE; 23 SEARCH; 25 OUNCE; 27 AMMON.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED